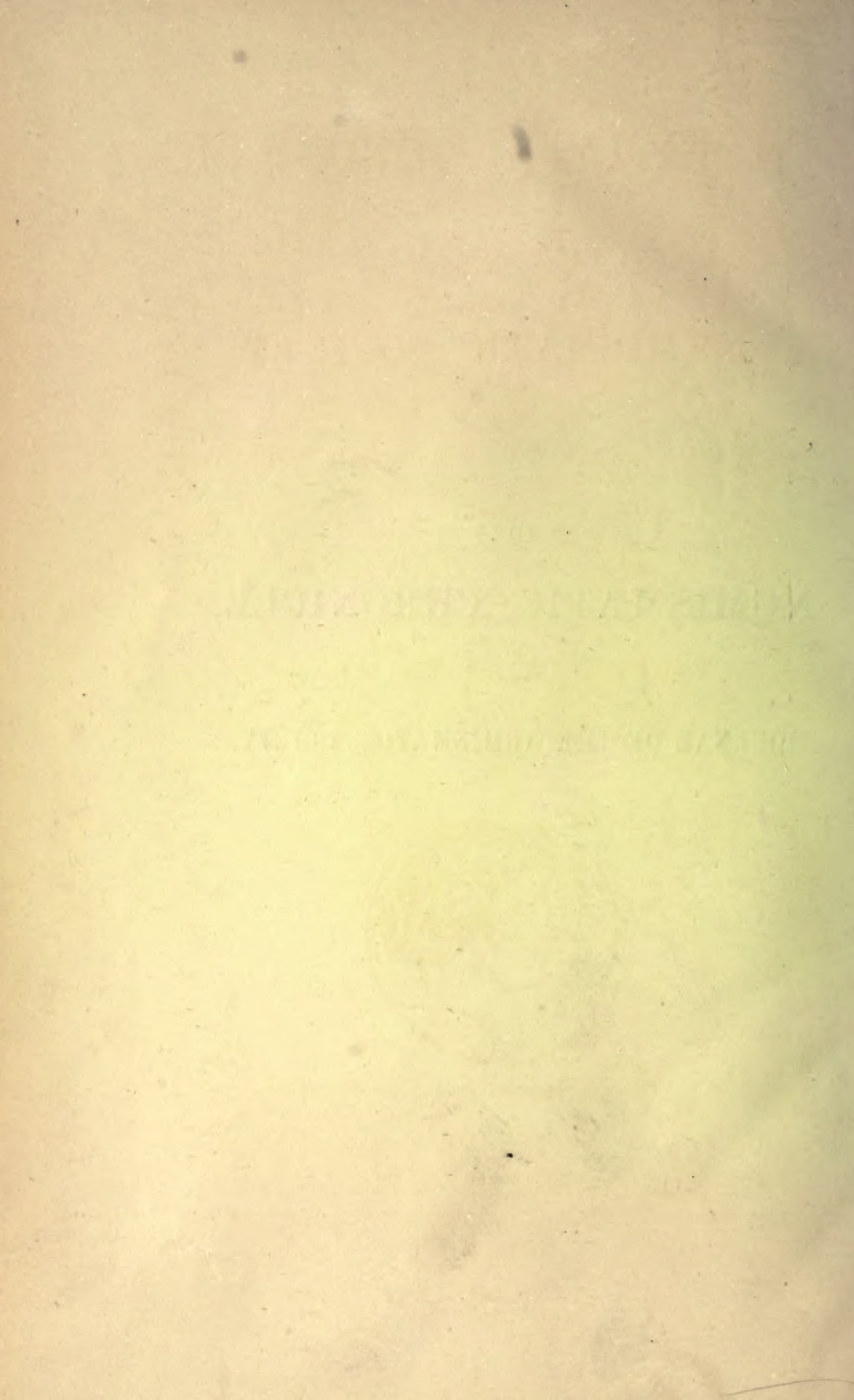




THE
NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE,
AND
JOURNAL OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.



(THE)
NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE,
161
(AND
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OF THE
(NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.)

EDITED BY

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., LL.D., Sc.D., F.R.S., V.P.S.A.,
CORRESPONDANT DE L'INSTITUT DE FRANCE,

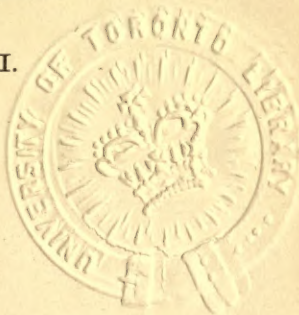
BARCLAY V. HEAD, D.C.L., Ph.D.,
KEEPER OF COINS, BRITISH MUSEUM,
MEMBER OF THE IMPERIAL GERMAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE,
HON. MEMBER OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF VIENNA,

HERBERT A. GRUEBER, F.S.A.,
ASSISTANT-KEEPER OF COINS, BRITISH MUSEUM,

AND

EDWARD J. RAPSON, M.A., M.R.A.S.

FOURTH SERIES.—VOL. I.



Factum abiit—monumenta manent.—Ov. *Fast.*

LONDON :

BERNARD QUARITCH, 15, PICCADILLY.

PARIS: MM. ROLLIN ET FEUARDENT, PLACE LOUVOIS, No. 4.

1901.

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LONDON:
PRINTED BY H. VIRTUE AND COMPANY, LIMITED,
CITY ROAD.



A
NUMISMATIC HISTORY
OF THE REIGN OF
HENRY I.

(1100—1135)

BY
W. J. ANDREW,
OF CADSTER, WHALEY BRIDGE.



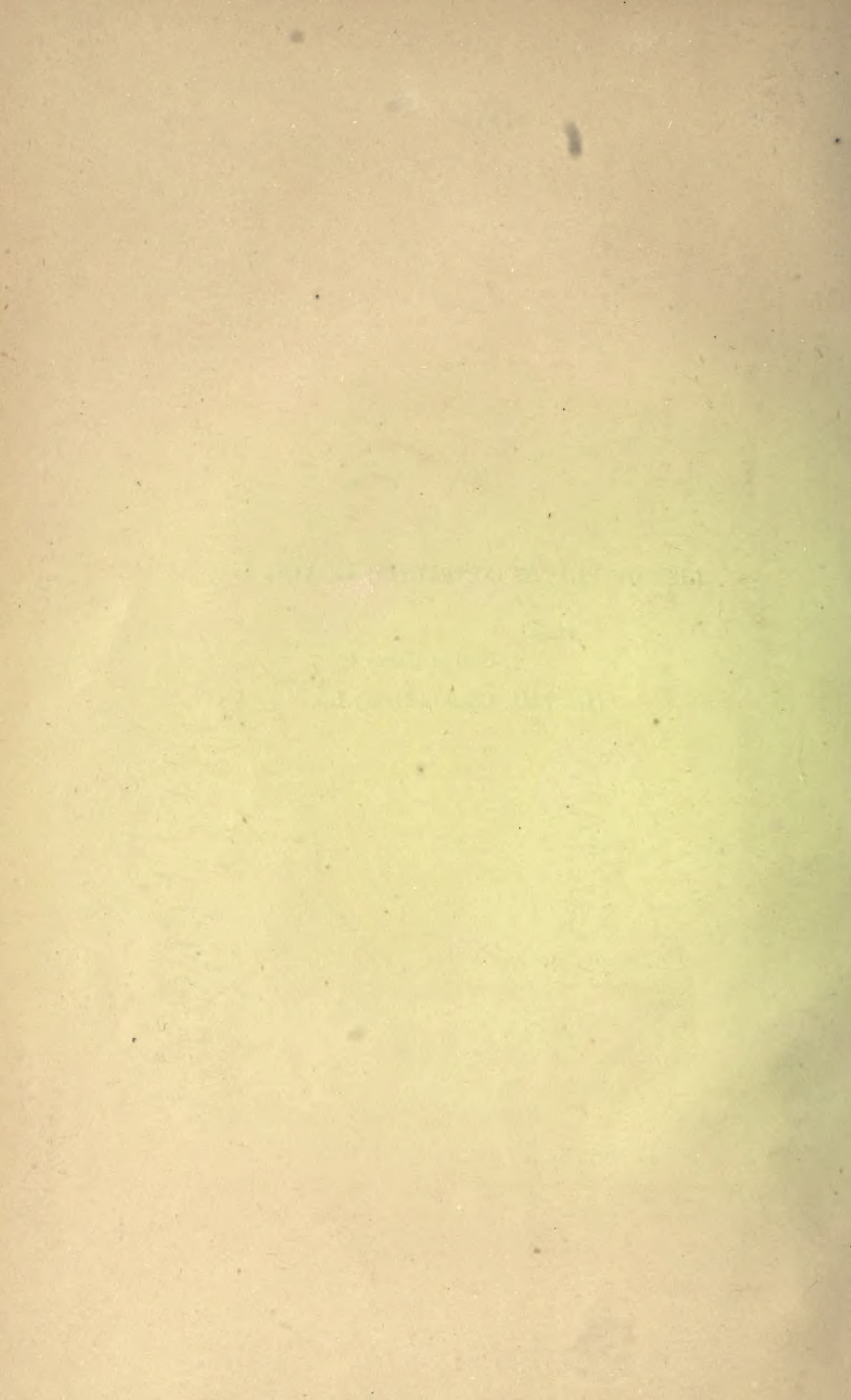
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LIST OF PLATES CONTAINED IN VOL. I.

Plates

I. Seal of Henry I.

II.—VIII. Coins of Henry I.



PROCEEDINGS OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

SESSION 1900—1901.

OCTOBER 18, 1900.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., LL.D., Sc.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.,
F.G.S., President, in the Chair.

Alfred Charles Cronin, Esq., was proposed, and Stephen W. Bushell, Esq., M.D., C.B., was admitted a Member of the Society.

The following Presents were announced and laid upon the table :—

1. *Revue Suisse de Numismatique*. Vol. ix. 2^{me} livr.
2. *Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien*. Nos. 202-206.
3. *Monete Romane*, 2^{da} ediz. By F. Gnecchi. From the Publisher, Sig. Ulrico Hoepli.
4. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1898-1899.
5. *Les Monnaies Sino-Kharoshthi, and Une Monnaie bilingue Indo-Sassanide*. By E. Drouin. From the Author.
6. *L'Art du Médailleur en Belgique*. By Julien Simonis, From the Author.

7. Photographs of the Casa dei Vetti at Pompeii. From Sir John Evans, K.C.B., President.

8. *Revue Belge de Numismatique*. 3^{me} et 4^{me} livr., 1900.

9. *Revue Numismatique*. 2^{me} et 3^{me} trim., 1900.

10. Tiers de Blanc anonyme frappé à Herpen. By Vicomte B. de Jonghe. From the Author.

11. *Bulletin historique de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie*. Livr. 194

12. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*. Vol. v. No. 5.

13. *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica*. Vol. xiii. Fasc. 2, 1900.

14. *Bulletin de Numismatique*. Mai—Août, 1900.

15. *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. Vol. xx.

16. *The Canadian Antiquarian*. Vol. ii. Nos. 2—4.

17. Catalogue of Greek coins in the British Museum—Lycaonia, Isauria, and Cilicia. By G. F. Hill. From the Trustees of the British Museum.

18. *La Gazette Numismatique*. Nos. 6—10, 4^m année, and No. 1, 5^{me} année.

19. *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*. 1^{re} et 2^{me} trim., 1900.

20. Report on the Government Museum at Madras, 1899—1900.

21. *American Journal of Archæology*. Vol. iv. No. 1.

22. *Steirische Münzkunde*. By F. Pickler. From Sir John Evans, K.C.B., President.

The meeting approved an Address of Condolence to His Majesty the King of Italy on the recent assassination of his illustrious Father, and directed that it should be signed on behalf of the Society by the President and the Hon. Secretaries.

Mr. Augustus Prevost, F.S.A., exhibited a New Jersey Confederate cent with a figure of an Indian on the obverse and sun and stars on the reverse, the dies for which are said to have been engraved by Thomas Wyon.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence exhibited a penny of Ceolwulf I of Mercia with the moneyer's name "Oba," and casts of an

identical piece in the Hunter collection, and specimens of the Canterbury *sede vacante* series, all bearing the same moneyer's name ; and also a half-noble of Edward III with different styles of lettering on the obverse and reverse.

Mr. F. A. Walters showed a pattern half-sovereign of Edward VI with the bare head, and having the "Timor Domini" legend on the obverse.

Mr. Talbot Ready exhibited a hecete of Lesbos with the head of Pallas, and on the reverse two female (?) heads facing each other, but one superimposed.

Mr. H. A. Grueber showed the South African medal lately issued by the mint at Birmingham, and the work of Emil Fuchs.

The President exhibited a photograph of a large rilievo which is now in the Forum at Rome, and which illustrates the remission of taxes by the Emperor Trajan and the burning of the deeds (*claria*) connected with them. Attention was drawn to coins of Hadrian recording a similar event during his reign. The legend on these coins, "reliqua vetera sestertium novies millies abolita," shows that the sum remitted by Hadrian was upwards of seven millions sterling.

Mr. Samuel Smith gave an account of the Soudanese coinage struck by the Mahdi and the late Khalifa, Abdullah. The coinage began in A.H. 1302 (= A.D. 1884), and consisted of the 100 piastres in gold, a servile copy of the Egyptian pound, and the medjidieh of 20 piastres in silver. These were the only pieces issued by the Mahdi ; but his successor, the Khalifa, struck pieces of 20, 10, 5, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ piastres in silver, and of 10 paras in copper, but no gold. At first the silver coins were of pure metal, but the Khalifa soon began to debase the coinage, so that in a few years it degenerated into mere pieces of copper washed with silver. The latest pieces known are of A.H. 1315 (= A.D. 1897).

NOVEMBER 15, 1900.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., President, in the Chair.

Alfred Charles Cronin, Esq., was elected a Member. The Right Hon. John Lubbock, Baron Avebury, and Robert Nicholas Roskell, Esq., were proposed, and F. G. Hilton-Price, Esq., F.S.A., and Dr. Philip Nelson, were admitted Members of the Society.

The following Presents were announced and laid upon the table :—

1. Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. Vol. xxx. Part III.

2. *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica*. Vol. xiii. Fasc. 3, 1900.

3. American Numismatic and Archæological Society. Proceedings of the Annual Meeting, 1900.

4. *Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien*. No. 207.

5. *Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*. Bind xv. Heft 1—2.

6. *La Gazette Numismatique*. No. 2, 1900.

The President reported that he had received from His Majesty the King of Italy, through the Master of the Household, a grateful acknowledgment of the Address of Condolence voted at the previous meeting.

Mr. P. Carlyon-Britton exhibited a series of unpublished Anglo-Saxon pennies of Æthelstan, Eadwig, and Eadgar from his collection.

Dr. P. Nelson showed a proof penny of the Isle of Man of 1723, a proof farthing of 1696, a half-penny of 1718 struck over a shilling of William III, and a proof in gold of the gun-money half-crown of April, 1690.

Mr. L. Forrer exhibited a gold coin or presentation piece of the Maharaja of Travancore, dated 1881, and bearing his portrait and arms, also a series of gold coins of the same state.

Mr. Talbot Ready showed a tridrachm of Byzantium with the bull on the obverse, and on the reverse Hercules strangling the serpents, as on the alliance coins of Rhodes, Cnidus, Ephesus, Samos, &c.

The President read a paper on the first gold coins of England, the issues referred to being the penny of Henry III and the florin and its parts of Edward III. See vol. xx. p. 218.

DECEMBER 20, 1900.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., President, in the Chair.

The Right Hon. John Lubbock, Baron Avebury, and Robert Nicholas Roskell, Esq., were elected, and Alfred Charles Cronin, Esq., was admitted a Member of the Society.

The following Presents were announced and laid upon the table :—

1. Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien. No. 208.

2. The Natural History of Phosphatic Deposits and Napheline-Syenite and its Associates in the North-West of Scotland. By J. J. H. Teall. From the Author.

3. Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Vol. vi. No. 1.

4. Bulletin Historique de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie. Livr. 195.

5. American Journal of Archæology. Vol. iv. Nos. 2—3.

6. Bulletin de Numismatique. Sept.—Oct., 1900.

7. Plans and Drawings of Athenian Buildings. By J. H. Middleton and E. A. Gardner. From the Hellenic Society.

8. The Origin, Development, and Aims of our Scientific Societies. By Sir John Evans, K.C.B., President.

9. Archæologia Aeliana. Vol. xxii. Part II.

The President exhibited a Bristol copper token of the six-

teenth century, which had been found in Pitstone Churchyard, near Tring, together with silver coins of Elizabeth.

Mr. C. H. Read, F.S.A., exhibited a circular lead weight, stamped with a fleur-de-lis between the letters G D, and with a representation of the reverse type of the English halfpenny of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, but bearing the inscription POIS D'ESTERLIN. It weighs 7,583 grains, or 500 sterlings of 15.16 grains each, the weight of the penny from Henry IV to Edward IV being at 15 grains.

Mr. Thomas Bliss showed proofs in silver and pewter of the gun-money crown of James II, and a proof in silver of the half-crown, and also a specimen in gold of the badge of a club called "The Order of Blue and Orange," which was formed about 1727 by officers of the King's Own Regiment of Foot to uphold the succession of the house of Hanover.

Mr. A. E. Copp showed a Newark shilling with the hall-mark for 1640.

Mr. Warwick Wroth communicated a paper on "The Re-arrangement of Parthian Coinage." The arrangement of this difficult series generally accepted is that proposed by Professor Percy Gardner in his monograph on the subject published in 1877. Since that date a number of important discoveries have been made, especially of tetradrachms having a marked resemblance in type and fabric to the contemporary Seleucid coinage. Mr. Wroth pointed out that the new evidence derived from this source made some of Professor Gardner's conclusions untenable, and gave reasons for what seemed to him to be the most probable order of succession of the Parthian coins from the beginning of the kingdom down to the reign of Phraates IV. See vol. xx., p. 181.

JANUARY 17, 1901.

SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., F.R.S., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Lionel Lawford Fletcher, Esq., and Frank E. Macfadyen, Esq., were proposed as Members of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Zeitschrift für Numismatik. Band xxii. Heft 4.
 2. Foreningen til Norske Fortidsmindesmerkers Bevaring. Aarsberetning for 1898.
 3. Kunst og Handwerk fra Norges Fortid. Part IV.
 4. Medals, Jetons, and Tokens, illustrative of the Science of Medicine (continuation). By Dr. H. R. Storer. From the Author.
 5. Numismatic Circular. Vol. VIII. 1900. From Messrs. Spink and Son.
 6. Archæologia Cantiana. Vol. xxiv. From the Kent Archæological Society.
 7. Revue Numismatique. 4^{me} livr., 1900.
 8. Revue Belge de Numismatique. 1^{re} livr., 1901.
 9. Procès-Verbaux du Congrès international de Numismatique. 1900. From Lady Evans.
 10. Le Rôle de la Numismatique dans le Mouvement Scientifique Contemporain. By E. Gabrici. From the Author.
 11. Le Dati delle Monete d'Augusto. By G. Dattari. From the Author.
 12. Un Demi-Gros à l'Écu frappé à Schoonvorst. By Vicomte B. de Jonghe. From the Author.
 13. Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien. No. 209.
 14. La Gazette Numismatique. Dec. 1900.
- Mr. W. J. Andrew exhibited two pennies of David I of

Scotland, struck at Edinburgh and Roxburgh, of similar type to coins of Stephen, having the bust with sceptre on the obverse and a cross moline with lis on the reverse. As these two coins were in the Nottingham hoard, they must have been issued before 1141.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence exhibited a piece of Chinese sycee "Shoe Money," of the value of 10 taels; a rupee of the British East Africa Company, and a mis-struck sovereign of the Perth Mint in Australia.

Mr. L. Forrer showed a Swiss twenty-franc piece of 1897 coined from gold obtained from the Gondo Mine, Graubünden. To distinguish the coins struck from this gold from others issued by the Swiss Mint, a small cross is placed on the Federal cross on the reverse.

Mr. W. J. Hocking exhibited specimens of the new silver coinage for Cyprus, consisting of pieces of the current values of eighteen, nine, four and a-half, and three piastres, equivalent to the English florin, shilling, sixpence, and fourpence.

Mr. W. J. Webster exhibited a pattern penny of the Orange Free State made in 1888.

Mr. P. Carlyon-Britton read a paper on some coins of Bedwin and Marlborough in Wilts. The only known coins of the former mint are of the reigns of Edward the Confessor and William I, and the only moneyer's name which appears on them is "Cilda," who was transferred to Marlborough soon after A.D. 1066, when the Bedwin mint ceased operations.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence read a paper on a find of silver coins extending from Edward IV to Henry VIII. The hoard consisted mainly of groats of the second issue of Henry VIII, and the evidence offered by them suggested a slight change in the order of the mint-marks, viz., the placing of the pheon mark towards the end rather than towards the beginning of the issue. From the portrait of the king on these groats Mr. Lawrence was in favour of an earlier date than 1526 for the commencement of the second issue; but in a discussion which

ensued Mr. Grueber pointed out that as, with one exception, all the mint-marks of the silver coins occurred on the gold crowns and half-crowns, which were not ordered till 1526, both coinages must have been contemporaneous.

FEBRUARY 21, 1901.

SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., F.R.S., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Lionel Lawford Fletcher, Esq., and Frank E. Macfadyen, Esq., were elected Members of the Society. The Rev. Cooper Kennett Henderson was nominated and Robert Nicholas Roskell, Esq., was admitted a Member.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica*. Fasc. 4, 1900.
2. *Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien*. No. 211.
3. *La Gazette Numismatique*. No. 5. 1901.
4. Additional coins of the Present Dynasty of China. By Stephen W. Bushell, Esq., M.D., C.B. From the Author.
5. *Classement des Monnaies Carolingiennes, and La Numismatique de Louis XVIII dans les Provinces Belges*. By P. Bordeaux. From the Author.
6. *Bulletin historique de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie*. 196 livr.
7. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*. 4th quarter. 1900.
8. *Transactions of the Japan Society*. 1898-9.
9. *Bulletin de Numismatique*. Nov.—Dec., 1900.
10. *Foreningen til Norske Fortidsmindesmerkers Bevaring. Aarsberetning for 1899*.

The meeting approved an Address of Condolence to His Majesty the King on the death of the late Queen, and of congratulation on His Majesty's accession to the throne.

The Hon. Secretary, Mr. H. A. Grueber, exhibited a small silver coin of the British chief Verica, which had been found near Challow, in Berks, and is the property of Mr. J. N. Barnes, of Lambourne. It has on the obverse a laureate head, similar to that on the coins of Tiberius, and the legend *VERIC*, and on the reverse *C. F.* (*Commii Filius*) within a torque. See Vol. xx., p. 264.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence showed two half-groats of London, belonging to the heavy coinage of Edward IV, and therefore struck before his fourth year.

Mr. T. Bliss exhibited some very rare siege pieces of Beeston Castle, Carlisle, and Scarborough, struck during the reign of Charles I, and of Pontefract under Charles II, the last piece being dated 1648.

Mr. W. C. Boyd showed an unpublished farthing token of Charles I, having the sceptres within the inner circle and a bird for mint-mark.

Mr. F. A. Walters read a paper on the last silver coinage (1369-77) of Edward III, in which he described several groats belonging to a transitional period, which proved that the resumption of the title of King of France on the coinage by Edward did not immediately follow the violation of the Treaty of Bretigny. He also showed that annulet stops continued to be used on the last coinage, and transferred to this period a Durham penny which hitherto had been classed to a date previous to 1360.

MARCH 21, 1901.

SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., F.R.S., Vice-President,
in the Chair.

The Rev. Cooper Kennett Henderson was elected, and

Lionel Lawford Fletcher, Esq. was admitted a Member of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table :—

1. Appunti di Numismatica Alessandrina. By G. Dattari.
From the Author.

2. Un Dirhem Inconnu. By Baron W. von Tiesenhausen.
From the Author.

3. La Gazette Numismatique. No. 6, Mars, 1901.

4. American Journal of Archaeology. No. 4, 1900, and
Annual Report.

5. Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. 3^{me} trim.,
1901.

6. Bonner Jahrbücher. Heft 106.

7. Annual of the British School at Athens. No. VI.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence exhibited a series of pennies of Henry I, showing, with one exception, all the types used during his reign.

Mr. F. A. Walters showed a half-groat, struck at York by Archbishop Bainbridge, and a half-groat and a penny of Canterbury, issued by Archbishop Wareham. All the coins belonged to the first issue of Henry VIII.

Mr. T. Bliss exhibited a crown, half-crown, shilling, and fourpence of the Irish Inchiquin money; a Dublin crown of the same period, and two siege-piece shillings of Colchester.

Mr. J. E. Pritchard showed a square Bristol farthing of the sixteenth century.

Mr. Grueber read a paper, by M. A. Blanchet and himself, on "Treasure-Trove, its Laws and Customs." M. Blanchet gave an account of the law of treasure-trove during Roman imperial times in Italy, and at a more recent date in France. In the latter case he pointed out that customary rights in many districts invalidated any claim of the sovereign to treasure-trove. On the other hand, Mr. Grueber showed that, unless by

special grant, the Crown had never relaxed its privilege, and as evidence referred to the laws of Edward the Confessor, William I, and Henry I, and to permissions to seek for treasure specially granted in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. Mr. Grueber also referred to the recent regulation of H.M. Treasury under which finders not only are awarded the coins and objects not required for the national institutions, but also the antiquarian value of such as may be retained, minus twenty-five or ten per cent., according to the nature of the objects.

APRIL 18, 1901.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., President in the Chair.

The Rev. Cooper Kennett Henderson was admitted, and Stewart A. McDowall, Esq. and Percy Henry Webb, Esq. were proposed as Members of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table :—

1. *Revue Belge de Numismatique*. 2^{me} livr., 1901.
2. *Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien*. No. 212.
3. *Revue Numismatique*. 1^{er} trim., 1901.
4. *Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*. Bind xv. Heft 3-4, 1900.
5. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*. Vol. xxxi. Part I.
6. *Les Monnaies des derniers Comtes de Reckheim*. By Vicomte B. de Jonghe. From the Author.
7. *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. Vol. xxi. Pt. I.
8. *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution*. 1898.

The President exhibited a series of aurei, in splendid condition, of Pertinax, Septimius Severus, Julia Domna, Caracalla,

Geta, etc.; also a copper coin of Athens of imperial times showing on the reverse a military figure placing a Persian captive before a trophy, supposed to be copied from a relief on the memorial erected to those who fell at Marathon.

Mr. L. Bardasano sent for exhibition a photograph of a large and unique silver medal engraved with the scene of a naval action, which was awarded to John Breton, a Guernsey pilot, who, on June 8th, 1794, by skilful seamanship, prevented the capture, off Guernsey, of H.M.S. *Eurydice* by a French squadron. The medal was presented to Breton by Major-Gen. Small, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Island.

Mr. P. Carlyon-Britton read a paper "On the Coins of William I and II and the Sequence of the Types." After referring to the law of *Monetatum*, which restricted a change of type in the coinage to every third year, the writer proceeded to classify the coins in their chronological order, assigning eight distinct types to William I, and five to William II. This classification enabled Mr. Carlyon-Britton to offer some suggestions respecting the period of division of the coinage of the two reigns, a question which hitherto had baffled the ingenuity of numismatists. In support of his views he cited the evidence of the more important finds of coins of that period. Series of coins illustrating the papers were exhibited by Mr. Carlyon-Britton and Mr. L. A. Lawrence from their Cabinets.

MAY 16, 1901.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., President, in the Chair.

Stewart A. McDowall, Esq. and Percy Henry Webb, Esq. were elected, and Isidore Kozminsky, Esq. was nominated a Member of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Revue Suisse de Numismatique. Tome x. 1^{re} livr.
2. Bulletin historique de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie. 197 livr.
3. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London. Vol. xviii. No. I.
4. La Gazette Numismatique. No. 7, 1901.
5. Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien. No. 213.
6. Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. 4^{me} trim., 1900.
7. Coins of the present Dynasty of China. By Stephen W. Bushell, Esq., M.D., C.B. From the Author.
8. Bulletin de Numismatique. Jan.—Mars, 1901.
9. Rivista Italiana di Numismatica. Fasc. 1, 1901.
10. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Vol. x.

The President read a letter from the Home Secretary, the Right Hon. Charles T. Ritchie, conveying His Majesty the King's thanks for the loyal and dutiful Address of Sympathy of the Society.

Mr. Wilfred Cripps, C.B., exhibited a unique and unpublished aureus of Carausius, having on the obverse the laureate and draped bust of the Emperor and the legend IMP. CARAVSIVS P.F. AVG., and on the reverse Pax standing, holding a branch and a sceptre, and the legend PAX. AVG.—VOT. V. This interesting coin was found a few years ago in Cirencester in the course of excavating foundations for some villas. The chief interest of the coin, apart from its rarity, is that it bears the legend VOT. V. (*Votis quinquennialibus*), a hitherto unknown inscription on the coins of this reign, and that it is similar to another aureus of Carausius in the possession of Sir John Evans which, however, reads MVL.T. X. (*Multis decennialibus*) for VOT. V. The type of "Pax" records the Treaty of Peace between Carausius and Diocletian and Maximian, concluded in A.D. 290, the probable date of the issue of the coin.

Major A. B. Creeke exhibited, with notes, two unpublished stycas in copper of Aelfwald I and Aethelred I, kings of Northumbria. Hitherto no coin of the latter king had been identified, and the copper styca of the former marks the change from silver to copper of those pieces.

Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher exhibited a halfpenny of Charles II reading CRAOLVS for CAROLVS.

Mr. G. F. Hill read a paper on a proposed notation to show the position of the inscriptions on coins in relation to the type, The direction of the inscription would be indicated by an arrow with a single barb ; a vertical arrow for an inscription on the right or left of the type, with the barb on the right or left of the shaft accordingly ; a horizontal arrow for an inscription above or below the type, with the barb above or below accordingly. All inscriptions should be assumed to read "inwardly" unless otherwise indicated ; when they read "outwardly" the arrow should be marked by two short projections at the butt-end or the outer side of the shaft. Curved inscriptions to be represented by a curved, straight inscriptions by a straight shaft.

Mr. Lionel M. Hewlett read a paper on a rare guiennois of Edward III struck at Bordeaux. It differs from the ordinary guiennois in having the figure of the King on the obverse partly turned to the right, and in the cross on the reverse being similar to that on the leopard, with the limbs formed of one plain and two beaded lines instead of three plain lines. The lions or leopards in the angles of the cross are turned from the centre. As the leopard was struck before the Treaty of Bretigny and the guiennois after the Treaty, Mr. Hewlett considered that this coin belonged to the first issue of the latter piece and, from its rarity, that it may even be a pattern.

JUNE 20, 1901.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., LL.D., Sc.D., F.R.S.,
V.P.S.A., F.G.S., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Annual General Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Report of the Council was then read to the Society as follows :—

GENTLEMEN,—The Council again have the honour to lay before you their Annual Report as to the state of the Numismatic Society.

With much regret they have to announce the death of the following five Ordinary Members :—

Robert Carfrae, Esq., F.S.A.Scot.
Constantine Alexander Ionides, Esq.
James J. Mason, Esq.
R. Alexander Neil, Esq.
Major W. Nutter.

And the resignation of the following seven Ordinary Members :—

Mrs. Bagnall-Oakeley.
William Clinton Baker, Esq.
Herr Carl Theodor Deichmann.
Thomas W. Minton, Esq.
C. Montague Neale, Esq.
Henry Symonds, Esq.
George Wakeford, Esq.

On the other hand, the Council have much pleasure in recording the election of the following nine Ordinary Members :—

The Right Hon. John Lubbock, Baron Avebury.
 Alfred Charles Cronin, Esq., F.S.A.
 Lionel Lawford Fletcher, Esq.
 The Rev. Cooper Kennett Henderson, M.A.
 Isidore Kozminsky, Esq.
 Stewart A. McDowall, Esq.
 Frank E. Macfadyen, Esq.
 Robert Nicholas Roskell, Esq.
 Percy Henry Webb, Esq.

According to the Report of the Hon. Secretaries, the numbers of the Members are as follows :—

	Ordinary.	Honorary.	Total.
June, 1900	276	23	299
Since elected	9	—	9
	285	23	308
Deceased	5	—	5
Resigned	7	—	7
June, 1901	278	23	296

The Council have further to announce that they have awarded the Medal of the Society to His Excellency Baron Wladimir von Tiesenhausen of St. Petersburg, in recognition of his long and valuable services to Oriental Numismatics, especially in connexion with the coinages of the Khalifs.

The Hon. Treasurer's Report, which follows, was submitted to the Meeting and adopted.

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements of the

Dr. THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF LONDON IN

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Messrs. Virtue & Co., for printing <i>Chronicles</i> —						
Part I, 1900	39	6	6			
Part II, „	58	1	9			
Part III, „	46	3	6			
Parts I and II, 1901	98	14	6			
				242	6	3
„ The Autotype Company, for Plates	38	7	11			
„ „ „	5	0	10			
„ „ „	23	10	4			
				66	19	1
„ The Royal Asiatic Society, one year's rent due June 24, 1901	30	0	0			
„ Mrs. Harper, for Attendance, Tea, Coffee, &c.	11	3	6			
„ Messrs. H. Bowyer & Co., for Bookbinding	3	5	7			
„ Messrs. Davy & Sons, for Printing	2	8	6			
„ Messrs. Hachette, for “Dictionnaire des Antiquités”	0	7	6			
„ Messrs. Walker & Boutall, for Drawing and Engraving	1	16	0			
„ Messrs. Hodges, Figgis & Co. for three numbers Journal R.S.A.	0	9	6			
„ C.S.S.A. for Stationery, &c.	3	0	3			
„ Mr. F. Anderson, for Drawing Coins	6	10	0			
„ Mr. J. Pinches, for Engraving	0	4	0			
„ Mr. B. Kingsnorth for Engrossing Address of Condolence to the King of Italy	1	12	6			
„ Do. for Engrossing Memorial to His Majesty the King	1	12	6			
„ Mr. A. P. Ready for making nine Electrotype Medallions	18	1	6			
„ Dr. P. Nelson for two Negatives	0	10	6			
„ Fire Insurance	0	15	0			
„ Secretaries, for Postages	5	0	0			
„ Treasurer, for Postages, Receipts, and Cheque Book	7	13	6			
„ Collector (Mr. C. G. Colman), Commission and Postages	7	0	5			
By Balance in hand	172	11	9			
				£583	7	10

Examined and found correct,

17th June, 1901.

W. C. BOYD
P. CARLYON-BRITTON } Auditors.

Numismatic Society from June, 1900, to June, 1901.

ACCOUNT WITH ALFRED EVELYN COPP, HON. TREASURER. Cr.

	£	s.	d.
By Balance from last Statement	243	18	3
„ Entrance Fees	9	9	0
„ Compositions	31	10	0
„ Subscriptions	228	18	0
„ Amount received for <i>Chronicles</i> , viz.—			
Mr. B. Quaritch	£42	11	3
Dr. B. Laufer	0	5	0
		42	16 3
„ Foreign Postages	0	2	0
„ August Dividend on £700 London and North- Western Railway 4 % Consolidated Preference Stock (less 11s. 8d. tax)	13	8	4
„ February ditto ditto (less 14s. tax)	13	6	0
		26	14 4

£583 7 10

ALFRED E. COPP,
HONORARY TREASURER,
20th June, 1901.

After the Report of the Council had been read and adopted the President presented the Society's Medal to Dr. Codrington, to forward to Baron von Tiesenhausen, who was unable to attend the meeting, and addressed him as follows :—

Dr. Codrington, I have much pleasure in handing to you the Medal of the Society for transmission to His Excellency Baron Wladimir von Tiesenhausen, of St. Petersburg. It has been awarded to him by the Council in recognition of his services to Oriental numismatics, especially in connection with the coins of the Muhammedan Khalifs. No one, probably, in this country is better acquainted than you with the extent and value of those services which have placed him in the first rank of Oriental numismatists. Already, in 1855, we find him publishing a memoir on the Coins of the Samanides, while his *Monnaies des Khalifes Orientaux*, which appeared in 1873, and his *Recueil de Matériaux relatifs à l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*, of which the first volume was issued in 1884, are universally recognised as standard works. Of his numerous other publications in the same department of our studies it is needless to say more than that in them he has fully sustained the high reputation of St. Petersburg as a school of Oriental numismatics. In transmitting the Medal to him, will you assure him of our most cordial wishes for his welfare, and for the long continuance of his labours in the field that he has so successfully cultivated ?

Dr. Codrington having accepted the Medal, replied as follows :—

Mr. President, I accept the Medal on behalf of Baron von Tiesenhausen with much pleasure, and with the assurance that the honour of receiving it will be fully appreciated by him, and that he gives his warm thanks to the Society for its award to him. Unfortunately, through error as to his present address, the letter expressing his sentiments, which is doubtless on its

way, has not reached the Secretaries, but a telegram received says that he accepts the Medal with many thanks.

I beg also to thank the Council for having again chosen an Oriental scholar for Medallist this year, one whose work has been so valuable and helpful to students of Muhammedan numismatics for many years past, nearly half a century, and to whom we have looked up as a master of his subject since the time when most of us were but beginning our studies in Oriental numismatics.

Since the Meeting the following letter has been received by Dr. Codrington from Baron von Tiesenhausen.

“ St. Pétersbourg.

le 2 Juillet, 1901.

“ Cher Monsieur, — J'ai eu le plaisir de recevoir votre obligeante lettre et je m'empresse de vous remercier de tout mon cœur de vos bonnes dispositions pour moi et de la vive part que vous avez prise à la conférence qui a bien voulu me décerner la médaille de la Société Numismatique de Londres. Il va sans dire que je suis bien heureux de voir ainsi mes travaux approuvés par des juges si compétents et d'être couronné d'un prix si honorable.

“ Veuillez agréer, Monsieur, l'expression de ma considération la plus distinguée.

“ Votre tout dévoué,

“ W. DE TIESENHAUSEN.”

The President then delivered the following Address:—

Since our last anniversary meeting this Society, in common with the whole of the British Empire, has sustained an immense, unexpected, and irreparable loss in the person of Her late Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria. It is not for me here to dilate upon her virtues and abilities in every

capacity of life ; but I may venture to apply to her, in a slightly modified form, the verses commemorating the deserts of one of her illustrious predecessors, Queen Elizabeth, which accompany the Royal Arms in the old church of Berkhamsted in Hertfordshire :—

“ This mighty Queen is dead, and lives,
And leaves the world to wonder,
How she, a widowed Queen did rule,
No Kings have gone beyond her.”

If, indeed, any king be destined to excel her or to gain a more deeply-rooted affection in the hearts of his subjects, let us hope and pray that it may be her illustrious successor, King Edward the Seventh, whom may God long preserve !

On his accession this Society presented a loyal and dutiful address to His Majesty, to which we have received a gracious reply.

It is worthy of notice that to-day, June 20th, is the anniversary of the accession of Queen Victoria in 1837, the year in which the first meeting of this Society was held.

I must, also, on this occasion, pay a passing tribute to the memory of the late King of Italy, Humbert, whose days were cut short in July last by the cruel hand of an assassin. The Society passed a vote of condolence on this sad event with his son, our distinguished Honorary Member, Victor Emmanuel, the present King, to which an appreciative answer was graciously accorded.

So far as we are immediately concerned, the Society is in a prosperous condition, though its numbers are slightly reduced from what they were at this time last year. The reduction is mainly owing to resignations ; and I cannot but think that the Members who thus resign do not always take into account the fact that the *Chronicle* alone returns good value for their subscriptions, even if, as is often unfortunately the case, they are unable to attend our meetings.

Our finances, as you will have heard from the Treasurer's

Report, are on the whole in a satisfactory condition, though the balance in hand is materially reduced.

The Society's Medal, as has also been already stated, has this year been awarded to Baron von Tiesenhausen of St. Petersburg, our distinguished Honorary Member, in recognition of his services to Oriental numismatics, especially in connexion with the coins of the Muhammedan Khalifs.

Our losses by death have, I am happy to say, been comparatively small, being but five in number. Among those, however, who have passed away there are at least three about whom I must say a few words.

Mr. Robert Carfrae was elected a Member of this Society in 1873, and though he never favoured us with any written communications, he was well known as an ardent collector, who combined a great amount of numismatic knowledge with a most refined artistic taste. The judgment with which his collections were made was well exhibited in the series of Greek coins which he dispersed by auction in May, 1894, and his reputation will be fully maintained by the magnificent series of "large brass" Roman coins now about to be brought under the hammer. In Edinburgh he was well known as a diligent antiquary, having been an active Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland since 1862, and for many years one of the Curators of their Museum, to which he was a most liberal benefactor. Born in 1819, he died in a ripe old age at his residence, Montrave Villa, Murrayfield, Edinburgh, on the 18th September, 1900. Personally he was a fine example of an old-fashioned, genial, and intelligent Scotsman; and many Southern as well as Northern friends deeply deplore his loss.

Mr. Constantine Alexander Ionides was another of our members who was endowed with true artistic instincts, and who approached numismatics from the æsthetic, rather than the historical side. His collection of pictures and other works of art was justly renowned, and will ever remain a source of

pleasure to many, as he bequeathed it to the Victoria and Albert Museum for the benefit of the nation.

It was only yesterday morning (June 19th) that there passed away from among us, in the prime of life, and after a very short illness, Mr. Robert Alexander Neil, tutor of Pembroke College, Cambridge. He was the second son of the late Rev. Robert Neil of Glencairn, Aberdeenshire, where he was born in December, 1852, and was therefore only in his forty-ninth year. After passing through the Grammar School at Aberdeen, he proceeded to Aberdeen University, where he took the Simpson Greek Prize in 1870, and the Fullerton Scholarship in 1871. In the following year he obtained a scholarship at Peterhouse, Cambridge, where he won the Craven Scholarship in 1875, and attained the high distinction of being second Classic in the following year. Shortly afterwards he was elected to a Fellowship at Pembroke College, where for many years he has contributed in no small degree to the welfare and reputation of the College. His accurate scholarship, the wide extent of his studies, which embraced not only the classic languages of Greece and Rome, but Sanskrit, in which he became the University Lecturer, gave him an almost unique position at Cambridge, and I, for one, can testify to the kind and liberal manner in which he placed his stores of knowledge at the disposal of others, and in some degree to the extent of those stores. Although not a professed numismatist, he knew more about coins than many who are brought in immediate contact with them, and made good use of them in illustration of his lectures. In him I have lost a highly valued personal friend, and this country one of its most accomplished scholars.

The papers brought before us during the past year have been numerous and varied in character. In Greek numismatics, Mr. Warwick Wroth has continued his long series of notes on the acquisitions made by the British Museum, in a Paper giving an account of the principal Greek coins added to the collection during the year 1900. Among these may be mentioned a

tetradrachm of Syracuse by Evaenetos in the same style as some of his dekadrachms, and having a pellet below the chin of Persephone; a fine Carthaginian tetradrachm of Sicily, presented by Miss Radford; a tetrobol of Capsa in Macedonia; two scarce copper coins of Apollonia Pontica in Thrace; and some rare silver coins of the Oetaei, Aegina, Calchedon, the Satrap Spithridates, and Berenice II of Egypt. A tetradrachm of Antiochus VI of Syria bears a singularly beautiful portrait. Altogether the nation, as well as the Museum, may be well congratulated on its acquisitions.

Mr. Warwick Wroth has also been engaged in the study of Parthian coinage, and has made two communications to the Society upon the subject. In the former of these he has discussed the coins bearing the name of Otanes and of Phraates, and shown reason why he dissents from some of the attributions of Professor Percy Gardner. In the latter, he boldly brings forward a scheme for the re-arrangement of the whole Parthian coinage. Some twenty-three years have elapsed since Professor Gardner took the Arsacidan series in hand, and during that interval of time, many new coins have been discovered and a certain number of fresh numismatic facts have been brought to light. Looking, moreover, at the fact that about seventeen successive monarchs bore the name of Arsaces before any definite system of dates was adopted, it will be admitted that any classification of the coins must, to some extent, be regarded as provisional, but that that which rests on the widest foundation of facts is likely to be the most trustworthy.

M. Rostowzew has favoured us with an interesting paper on the remarkable coins of Tarsus which commemorate the gift to the city of cargoes of corn, derived, at all events, in one instance, from the granaries of Egypt. The gifts were made by Caracalla and Severus Alexander, and are commemorated as *δωρεὰ, δωρεὰ σείρον*, or simply as *σείρος*, the spelling of which word is worthy of notice, inasmuch as it shows what we regard as a superfluous epsilon. The paper concludes with

some illustrations of the tesserae in use on the occasion of these "Liberalitates" in order to facilitate the distribution of the corn or money. One of these in lead with the word **TAPCOC** on the one face and a galley on the other is preserved in the British Museum.

Mr. Oman has supplied a list of no less than twenty-five coins of Smyrna, mostly in brass, which are preserved in the Bodleian collection at Oxford, but which are wanting in the British Museum. Nine are of Imperial times, and include examples of the Smyrna coinage of Crispina and Saloninus. The history of the series is interesting, as they were collected by Mr. Daniel Patridge, a Smyrna merchant, and were made over to the Bodleian Library by Mr. William Raye, Consul at Smyrna, in the year 1704, nearly fifty years before the foundation of the British Museum.

The bibliographical notes on Greek numismatics, communicated to the *Chronicle* by Mr. Hill, contain a vast amount of varied and valuable information, derived in many instances from somewhat unexpected sources. One is led to regret that, in past years, a similar record of numismatic information had not been undertaken.

The same author's paper, on a method of notation to designate at a glance the position and direction of the legend and type of a coin, will no doubt receive careful consideration. The plan is ingenious and as simple as the circumstances admit; but a practical application of it will be necessary before an opinion can be formed as to the advisability of its universal adoption.

In the domain of Roman numismatics we have had several communications. I have myself called attention to the manner in which the coins of Hadrian, representing the burning of the *claria* or bonds for the public debt, are illustrated by a bas-relief of marble now in the Forum at Rome. Another relief, in the same place, illustrates the coins of Trajan with **ALIM. ITAL.**

Coming down to somewhat later days M. Jules Maurice has favoured us with two valuable monographs on the issues from certain Roman mints during the Constantine Period. The first relates to the mint of London, and recites seven main coinages between July, A.D. 306 and September, A.D. 326, when the mint was closed. Several of these coinages are divided by the author into two or more series, and the first series of the first coinage comprises coins in memory of Constantius as well as some bearing the name of Severus as Emperor and Maximinus and Constantine as Caesars. In the second series of this issue we find Maximianus and Constantine as Emperors. In the following issues Maximinus Daza and Licinius I appear, and subsequently Crispus, Constantine II, and Licinius II, and, last of all, Fausta and Helena. There do not seem to have been any gold coins struck at the London mint during the Constantine Period, and M. Maurice's essay does not embrace the reigns of Carausius and Allectus.

M. Maurice's second paper relates to the issues from the important mint of Siscia, also during the Constantine Period. He begins in A.D. 305 with coins of Severus, Maximinus, and Constantinus as Caesars, and of Maximianus, Diocletianus, and Constantius I, as Augusti. In the second emission, from A.D. 308 to 311, coins of Licinius and Galeria Valeria come in, and a succession of nine more coinages brings us down to the year 337, and these comprise coins of Constantine the Great and his family, including Delmatius and Hanniballianus. The artistic skill of the die-engravers at Siscia, especially in the case of the gold coins, compares favourably with that exhibited at any of the other contemporary mints of the Roman Empire.

In connection with the coins of the Ancient Britons we have had a short, but very interesting note by Mr. Grueber on an unpublished silver coin of Verica. This coin is in fine condition, but weighs less than three and a half grains troy. It therefore belongs to the same category as the minute silver

coins of Verica and Tincommius, found many years ago on Lancing Downs, Sussex, and now in my own cabinet, which testify to a considerable degree of civilisation in the part of the country where such a currency existed. The type of the reverse, a torque enclosing C. F., recalls that of many of the Celtic *Regen-bogen schüsselchen* of Germany and Switzerland. The resemblance of the portrait on the obverse to that of Tiberius is undeniable, but can, I think, hardly be accepted as absolutely conclusive in dating the coin. The laureate head of Augustus, on some of his coins, closely resembles that of Tiberius, and the prototype of the extremely minute head on this coin of Verica may have been one of Augustus with this fortuitous resemblance.

With regard to the Anglo-Saxon coinage we have received several communications.

Major Creeke has brought under our notice two unpublished copper stycas of Northumbria, the one of Aelfwald I and the other of Aethelred I, of whom no coins were previously known.

Mr. W. C. Boyd has given us a note on some fourteen unpublished varieties in his collection, ranging from a styca of Eanred to a penny of Harold II.

Mr. Carlyon-Britton has also read a paper on some coins struck in the mints of Bedwin and Marlborough, in Wilts, during the reigns of Edward the Confessor and William the Conqueror. The duration of the coinage at both these towns was limited to a few years, and the same moneyer, Cilda, struck coins at both.

Lord Grantley's paper on some unique Anglo-Saxon coins, which I briefly mentioned in my last Anniversary Address, has now been printed in full in the *Chronicle*. Besides the coin of Heahberht he describes a remarkable penny which, apparently, combines the names of Berhtwulf of Mercia and Aethelwulf of Wessex; and another of Ecgbeohrt of Wessex, with the title of King of the Mercians, as well as two other extremely rare coins.

In English numismatics we have had the first part of what may be regarded as the most important paper that has appeared upon any branch of the subject for many years—the numismatic history of the reign of Henry I, by Mr. W. J. Andrew. I explained last year the reason why the *Chronicles* for 1900 and 1901 should be issued without any direct regard for their dates, and I also reserved any comments upon the paper until the whole of it should have been issued. All the Members of the Society will have received Parts I and II of the *Chronicle* for 1901, and will thus have been able to judge of the comprehensive and exhaustive manner in which Mr. Andrew has treated his subject, but until the paper is complete, it will be well for me still to abstain from making any farther comments upon it.

Mr. Carlyon-Britton has, I am afraid, somewhat encroached on Mr. Andrew's field of research in his paper "On the Coins of William I and II and the Sequence of the Types," but both authors recognise the bearing of the law of *monetagium* upon the coinage. This law, however, was abolished by Henry I, and Mr. Carlyon-Britton has shown how, by invoking its aid and taking into account the "mule" coins with the head of one issue and the reverse of another, much light may be thrown on the sequence of the types of the two Williams.

The early English gold coinage has this year received a considerable amount of attention. I have attempted to bring together all that as yet is known with regard to the gold pennies of Henry III and the florin and its parts of Edward III, with what success I must leave others to judge. It is, at all events, something gained to have all the known varieties of both the coinages brought together on one autotype plate.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence has described from his own collection a second specimen of the half-noble of the third coinage of Edward III, like that which belonged to the late Mr. Montagu, and was figured by him in the *Chronicle* for 1888. It is now in the British Museum. The coins differ in some

minor particulars, but agree in the characteristic A, the saltires between the words, and the large G in the centre of the reverse, all of which are features of the noble of Edward's third year. Mr. Lawrence's coin, though worn, still weighs $60\frac{1}{2}$ grains.

Mr. Lawrence has also communicated a paper on a small hoard of groats of Henry VI to Henry VII, which comprises coins of Edward IV, Edward V, and Richard III. He has utilised it for the purpose of still farther corroborating the sequence of stops and mint-marks of Edward IV and Henry VII, as arranged by himself and the Rev. G. F. Crowther. It would be an instructive piece of work, if some one would undertake the detailed comparison between these marks upon the groats and those on the gold angels and larger coins of Henry VII.

Mr. F. A. Walters, in his paper on the last silver coinage of Edward III, shows reason for believing that the resumption of the title of King of France on the coins did not immediately follow the violation of the Treaty of Bretigny.

I am glad that the Anglo-Gallic series is again receiving attention, as it is so intimately connected with the more purely English coinage. Mr. Hewlett, in his paper on a rare *Guiennois* of Edward III, has shown the bearing which the Treaty of Bretigny, just mentioned, had on the types of the coins struck in France by the English king, as well as on the titles on his coins struck in England.

An Anglo-Gallic paper in another sense, being the joint production of the English Mr. Grueber and the French M. Blanchet, related to the law of treasure-trove, ancient and modern. My opinion on the subject of this law and its administration in this country is, I think, sufficiently well known. Its history, however, and the forms that it has assumed in different countries of Europe, are an interesting subject for study.

As to historical medals, perhaps the two most popular events

in this country during the eighteenth century were Admiral Vernon's capture of Porto Bello, "with six ships only," and the victories over the French and their allies obtained by Frederick the Great of Prussia.

To the numerous medals that are known commemorative of these two events, Mr. W. Talbot Ready has been able to add an unpublished variety in each case.

In Oriental numismatics I have little to record, but Mr. Samuel Smith has contributed to us an account of the Soudanese coinage struck by the Mahdi and the late Khalifa, Abdullah. The degeneration of the silver coinage was rapid and complete, and in a few years the work of Henry VIII and his successor, three centuries and a half ago, was far outdone, and silver was represented by mere pieces of copper slightly washed over with some white metal.

The coinage of the South African Republic formed the subject of a memoir communicated to the Society in 1894, which at that time it was not thought expedient to publish. It has at last appeared in the pages of our *Chronicle*, and is of considerable interest now that the Republic has ceased to exist. The coinage is not without its ludicrous side, the representation by a German die-sinker of the waggon in what the burghers were pleased to call their national arms, with a pair of shafts instead of a pole, thus reducing its dignity to that of "a one-horse concern," having jeopardised the re-election of President Kruger. Had he failed in his election, who can tell what would have been the present condition of affairs in South Africa?

In concluding my observations on our publications, I may mention that the *Numismatic Chronicle* for the year 1900, being the last volume of the third series and the fortieth on which my name has appeared as that of one of the editors, is now complete, and will shortly be in the hands of members. It contains a double index to the ten concluding volumes of the third series of the *Chronicle*, for the compilation of which we

are indebted to our Secretary, Mr. Grueber. I am sure that the Society will, at this meeting, accord him a hearty vote of thanks for all the labour that he has bestowed on this work which adds so materially to the value of our publications.

Among the numerous meetings held in Paris last year on the occasion of the Exhibition, was a fairly successful Numismatic Congress, at which I fear but few representatives from this country were personally present. One of the results of the Congress has been the appearance of an interesting volume of the principal memoirs contributed to it. Among those may be cited the paper by M. Blanchet, of which mention has already been made, one by M. Villeboisy on the method of fabrication of ancient coins, one by Dr. Voetter on the coins of Gallienus and his family, and an ingenious essay by M. R. Mowat on the reconstitution of the collection of dies of the 1st and 2nd centuries, in which he suggests that the "restored" coins of Titus, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, &c., were struck from dies that were engraved in order to complete the collection of dies that was kept by the State.

It is proposed to hold another international Congress of historical studies at Rome in the course of next spring, in which Numismatics will occupy one of the foremost places.

The numismatic publications of the past year have not been numerous, but among them is a new volume of the British Museum Catalogue of Greek coins from the pen of our Foreign Secretary, Mr. G. F. Hill. It relates to the coins of Lycaonia, Isauria and Cilicia, and is illustrated by a map and forty Plates, and among these is one which, following the example of the Catalogues of the coins of Alexandria, Caria and Lycia, presents what is to my mind a very valuable feature, inasmuch as it tends to complete the Catalogue and to render it more valuable as a work of reference. The Plate in question is No. XL, and in it are represented fourteen coins struck in the region comprised in the Catalogue, but of which at present there are no specimens in the Museum collection.

Although the coins of Cilicia such as those of Celenderis and Mallus date back to the sixth and fifth century B.C., and are purely Greek in general character, yet the bulk of the coins treated of in this volume and especially those of Lycaonia and Isauria belong to Roman Imperial times. The coins of Derbe, Lystra, and Iconium are of some interest to the biblical student, but the earliest, those of Iconium, do not go back beyond the first century B.C. Those of Lystra commence under Augustus, and those of Derbe under Faustina the younger. They throw no light on what may have been "the speech of Lycaonia" nor on the nice question of who were the divinities of the district known as Jupiter and Mercurius.

Another publication that ought to be mentioned is a magnificent folio volume issued by the Royal Museums at Berlin,¹ "The Medals of the House of Hohenzollern." It is illustrated by ninety plates, some of them, where enamelled work has to be reproduced, in colours. There are also numerous blocks introduced in the text. A publication such as this, limited to the memorials of a single family, testifies to the wonderful vitality of the race of Hohenzollerns, its wide-spread ramifications and its influence on the history of Europe, if not on the destinies of the human race.

In conclusion I must again point out that the beneficent results arising from our Society are not in any way limited to our publications. Our well-attended meetings prove that members feel the advantage of being periodically brought together for the purpose of discussing objects of common interest, and the rare coins and medals that are exhibited at our meetings are a source of pleasure to those who have the opportunity of examining them, as well as to the proud possessors who exhibit them. I have now for many years been intimately connected with this Society, and I do not remember it in a more active and useful condition than it is at present. I can only hope

¹ *Die Schaumünzen des Hauses Hohenzollern.* Berlin, 1901.

that for many years to come it may continue to advance, and that however long it may exist, its standing and usefulness may never recede.

A vote of thanks to the President for his Address was moved by Mr. Barclay V. Head, seconded by Mr. R. G. Hoblyn, and carried unanimously.

The President then announced to the meeting the result of the ballot for the Council and the Officers for the ensuing year, which was as follows :—

President.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., LL.D., SC.D.,
F.R.S., V.P.S.A., F.G.S.

Vice-Presidents.

BARCLAY VINCENT HEAD, ESQ., D.C.L., PH.D.
SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., F.R.S., F.S.A.

Hon. Treasurer.

ALFRED E. COPP, ESQ.

Hon. Secretaries.

HERBERT A. GRUEBER, ESQ., F.S.A.
EDWARD J. RAPSON, ESQ., M.A., M.R.A.S.

Foreign Secretary.

GEORGE FRANCIS HILL, ESQ., M.A.

Hon. Librarian.

OLIVER CODRINGTON, ESQ., M.D., F.S.A.

Members of the Council.

W. J. ANDREW, ESQ.

THOMAS BLISS, ESQ.

W. C. BOYD, ESQ.

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., D.L., J.P., F.S.A.

WILLIAM J. HOCKING, ESQ.

L. A. LAWRENCE, ESQ.

A. H. LYELL, ESQ., F.S.A.

SAMUEL SMITH, JUN., ESQ.

FREDERICK A. WALTERS, ESQ., F.S.A.

SIR HERMANN WEBER, M.D.



LIST OF MEMBERS
OF THE
NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
OF LONDON.

DECEMBER, 1901.



LIST OF MEMBERS
OF THE
NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
OF LONDON,
DECEMBER, 1901.

*An Asterisk prefixed to a name indicates that the Member has compounded
for his annual contribution.*

ELECTED

- 1873 *ALEXÉIEFF, M. GEORGES D', Maître de la Cour de S.M.
l'Empereur de Russie, 40, Sergnewskaje, St. Petersburg.
- 1892 AMEDROZ, HENRY F., Esq., 7, New Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.
- 1882 ANDREW, W. J., Esq., F.S.A., Cadster House, near Whaley
Bridge, Derbyshire.
- 1884 ANDREWS, R. THORNTON, Esq., 25, Castle Street, Hertford.
- 1888 ARNOLD, G. M., Esq., D.L., F.S.A., Milton Hall, Gravesend,
Kent.
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A
NUMISMATIC HISTORY
OF THE REIGN OF
HENRY I.

(1100—1135)

FIRST PART.

BY
W. J. ANDREW,
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NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE.

A NUMISMATIC HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF HENRY I.
1100—1135.

“All the influential men, both bishops as well as earls and barons, coined their own money.”—Hoveden.

INTRODUCTION.

THE primary object of this work is in advance of that suggested by its title. It is to demonstrate that, under the Anglo-Saxon and Norman dynasties—and probably at that time upon the Continent of Europe also—the general monetary system was carried on under a feudal constitution differing considerably from what has hitherto been supposed. Of this system the following are the main principles.

1. The King's money was only issued by his direct authority at a comparatively small proportion of the mints,—namely at those royal cities and towns which, for the time being, remained under his immediate control, *i.e.*, in the words of Domesday, *in manu regis*. The moneyers of these mints only were therefore officers of the Crown, men, often, of considerable wealth and importance, and in virtue of their office tenants *in capite* of the King.

The Mints were however often farmed to the Burgesses in the rent of their city or town.

2. The greater part of the country was at that time granted by Charter to the Archbishops, Bishops, Earls, and principal Barons, in return for spiritual or military service. The grant of a city or town included the mint, where one already existed, and in some cases mints were expressly established by the Charter granting a city or town which previously had no mint. Thus most of the mints were under the immediate jurisdiction of the territorial lords and were included in their chartered privileges.
3. As the then doctrine of law was, that no one could hold more than a life interest in any property, the King could not grant the city or town (with its privileges) for a longer period than during his lifetime, after which it nominally reverted to his successor. So also the grantee could only receive it for his own life, and upon his death it nominally reverted to the Crown. Hence arose the system of confirmation Charters, granted by each new King, or received by each new lord. The effect of this was that between the expiration of the old Charter, from either of these two causes, and the receipt of the confirmation Charter, all the privileges of the lordship, including that of coinage at the mints affected, were necessarily dormant.
4. "Out of feudalism arose the maxim that all lands in the kingdom were originally granted by our Kings, and held mediately or immediately of the King, as lord paramount in consideration of certain services to be rendered by the holder" (Wharton's Law Lexicon). Hence the privilege of

coining and issuing the King's money, being confined to the precincts of the mint and attached to the soil by the Charter of grant, could not be delegated, assigned, or farmed by the grantee without a further Royal Charter of assent and confirmation. The effect of this was, that the privilege remained a purely inalienable and official prerogative, only exercisable by the territorial lord himself when within his lordship, and was *dormant during his absence abroad*. The moneyers therefore of these mints were not officers of the Crown, but merely servants of their lord. The lord paid certain fees to the King's *cuneator* for the dies, and in return received the profits of the coinage, or whatever share of them was limited to him by his Charter.

The reign of Henry I has been selected as the initiatory proof of this new phase in the history of our early constitutional coinage for a variety of reasons. It conveniently commences within some fourteen years of the great topographical survey Domesday, and it includes the only existing Norman Exchequer Return we have, namely, an odd volume for the year 1129—1130 of, what was practically the annual sequel to Domesday, the Pipe Roll. It embraces a period when the King and his Barons spent as much of their time in Normandy as in England, which fact clearly explains the intermittent character of the output of the chartered mints. It is the reign of which less has been written for the numismatist than of any other, and so little is known of its coins, that no attempt has hitherto been made even to arrange the order of their types, and the types actually assigned to it include several which must be assigned to the time of

Stephen. Therefore it is thought that by choosing almost untrodden ground, the materials, of which the structure of proof is composed, may themselves be of interest and value.

Coins are the illustrations of 'Time's history,' and to collect them with any other purpose in view, is almost as useless as the hoarding of a miser's gold. If all other records of a nation were lost, much could be gathered from a study of its coinage; and now that a new light is thrown upon our feudal monetary conditions, it is hoped that the interest in our coins will be increased. By it, the historian should be able to check many uncertain dates in our early records, for by its help he can establish the dates of the presence of the King and his Barons in England or their absence abroad at any specified time. It also enables him to test the validity of our Charters, to prove the accuracy of Domesday, and, in other reigns, to follow the effect of sieges and counter-sieges during our civil wars and insurrections. To the topographer and genealogist it almost writes the history of scores of the principal towns and families in England. To the numismatist it dates every type; it explains why so many are missing from most of the mints; it simplifies the appropriation of coins, hitherto doubtful, to their proper mints; it explains those curious mint-marks or ornaments upon many of them, and finally it proves how complete is our series of existing specimens, as representatives of the total coinage issued, and it even tells us what missing varieties we may yet hope to discover.

The writer will be grateful if those who possess coins of Henry I not included in the following pages, or any of William I, William II, or Stephen, will communicate particulars of them to him and thus assist the study of Norman numismatics.

CHAPTER I.

THE NORMAN COINAGE.

AT the era of the Conquest of England the coinage of the Anglo-Saxons was second in importance to none in Europe, and the silver penny of that day as a pure and standard medium of commerce, and as the prototype of much of the money of neighbouring countries on the Continent, can only be compared with our golden sovereign of to-day. In like manner the penny was the maximum unit of currency, and if we eliminate our modern small change from the comparison, as being then represented by a system of barter, the parallel between our sovereign and the ancient silver penny is remarkable, and the modern gold coinage of sovereigns and half-sovereigns conveys a very fair idea of the actual currency of the penny and its mechanically divided fractions of the half-penny and farthing of long ago. The analogy might be continued in many directions, and even in that of quantity, for our Saxon forefathers probably circulated in their every day life as many or as few silver pennies as we, outside the commercial centres of trade and exchange, do pounds in actual specie. A comparison of their respective purchasing power, however, no longer bears out this relationship, for in later times universal facilities of import and export have tended to cheapen all those necessities of life by which alone we can gauge the former value of money. The country then had to support its own population, but now its total food products would only sustain it for some two hundred days of the year, and thus, if we had to return to the former condition of affairs, all necessities would be

at famine prices, and the purchasing power of the sovereign would be no greater than that of the old penny.

The proportionate value of the necessities of life has remained much the same. In the eleventh century the value of a fowl or duck was, as it is now, about the same as the daily wage of an agricultural labourer, then 2d., and, therefore, that amount may, for this purpose, be considered as equal to perhaps half-a-crown of our money; a sheep was ten, and a hog fifteen times the value of a fowl, a cow four times that of a hog, and a horse four times that of a cow. The price of corn was no criterion, for it was necessarily so dependent upon the changing character of the seasons that Roger of Wendover, one of our early chroniclers, quotes it as being in one year eighteen pence, and in another six shillings the quarter. Taking the penny, therefore, as representing one shilling and three-pence of our money, the respective prices would be approximately as follows:—

	Agricultural Daily Wage.			Fowl.			Sheep.			Hog.			Cow.			Horse.		
Norman money .	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Norman money .	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	1	8	0	2	6	0	10	0	£		2
Our money at 1s. 3d. to the Norman penny }	0	2	6	0	2	6	1	5	0	1	17	6	7	10	0	30		

But in point of fact such articles were rarely paid for in cash, and therefore the above figures more properly represent their nominal value in exchange. Indeed, William I by statute prohibited any sale of cattle *for money* save “in the markets before three witnesses,” and it was not until the reign of Henry I that even the King’s taxes were,

“for the most part, paid in coin” instead of in kind (“Dialogue of the Exchequer”). Nevertheless, in the latter reign, money appears to have already entered sufficiently into the daily requirements of life as to be usually carried by the general public; for Wendover, in recording an anecdote of the year 1126, not only shows that a man who was hunting had twopence half-penny in his wallet, but that he was expected to have cash upon him, for a mendicant begged a “*piece of money*” of him. In a later passage, the same authority incidentally mentions that at the funeral of Bishop Hugh, A.D. 1200, a woman in the crowd within Lincoln Cathedral “had her pocket picked of her purse.” Thus, we may infer that, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the use of money was gradually superseding the ancient custom of barter and payment in kind.

The Norman coinage consisted solely of the silver penny, which was, however, cut into half-pennies and farthings as presently described. Its weight, as established by the Conqueror, and continued until the reign of Edward I, was $22\frac{1}{2}$ grains, and its assay was in the proportion of 11 ozs. 2 dwts. fine to 18 dwts. of alloy to the pound troy, a standard which, after many vicissitudes of debasement, is that of our silver coinage of to-day. The curious document, “Dialogue of the Exchequer,” before mentioned, gives us minute details of the method then adopted to test the money of the revenue before it was accepted from the Sheriffs of the various Counties by the King’s Exchequer, and, although it was not, strictly speaking, the trial of the pix (which was a similar test of the money taken direct from the moneyers), it was no doubt conducted upon an identical system. A translated extract from this twelfth-century record upon the point may be of interest.

"When the money is sent to the Exchequer to be counted one of them diligently mixes the whole together, so that the better pieces may not be by themselves and the worse by themselves, but mixed in order that they may correspond in weight; This being done the Chamberlain weighs in a scale as much as is necessary to make a pound to the Exchequer. But if the number shall exceed twenty shillings by more than six pence in a pound it is considered unfit to be received . . . but of whatever weight the pennies are found to be he puts apart into a cup one £, that is twenty shillings of them, of which a test shall be made. . . . The melter receiving these counts them with his own hand and then places them on a vessel of burning embers . . . he reduces them to a mass blowing upon them and cleansing the silver . . . and then before the eyes of all he weighs it (the residuum) with the aforesaid pound weight. Moreover, he then supplies what the fire has consumed, putting in coin out of that same box, until what has been tested is in equilibrium."

The writer then explains at considerable length, that if the money had been in currency, the Sheriff should be allowed a depreciation of six pennies in the £, but if it was new, only three or four. Beyond this, the loss fell upon him;

"unless, perhaps, the coins are new and not customary, and the inscription upon them betrays their producer, for then that moneyer shall be strictly called to account for his work, and, according to the established laws, shall be condemned or absolved without loss to the Sheriff; but if, the coin being proved and reproved by testing, the moneyer shall have been condemned and punished, the coins shall be reduced to a mass by the melter of the Exchequer . . . and its weight shall be computed to the Sheriff. But all this is almost abolished now (*circa* 1180) and much relaxed; since, with regard to money, *all sin in common*."—Henderson's *Historical Documents*, p. 28-54.

This margin in weight of six pennies in every 240 seems to have been fully taken advantage of in the minting of the coins themselves, for the average weight of the pennies of the Conqueror, which we possess, are a little below this net allowance, whilst those of William II exactly tally with it. The money of Henry I varies

much in this respect, according to the actual date of its types, but the coins of Stephen "all sin in common."

In the words of the "Dialogue," "All money of this kingdom ought to have the stamped image of the King" on the obverse, and this rule (with the exception of a few baronial coins in the reign of Stephen) was strictly adhered to under the Norman dynasty, but the reverse was the field for an almost unlimited variety of device or type.

Through the centre of nearly every reverse, however, runs the ancient symbol of Christianity, the cross, in some form or another,—hence "*cross and pile*,"—a custom dating from at least the sixth century, and only discarded in comparatively recent times; if, indeed, a survival of it is not still discernible on the modern florin. The arms of this cross were found to be a convenient line of guidance for the shears, and the Saxon and Norman half-pence and farthings were formed by simply severing the penny into equal sections in this manner. So strictly was this line observed in cutting the coin that, if the cross exists and is not followed by the severance, it is sufficient to arouse suspicion that the coin is merely a broken penny converted into a cut half-penny.

It is true that round silver half-pennies, or what are believed to be half-pennies, were for a short period issued in England in the reigns of Alfred the Great and his immediate successors, but they seem soon to have been supplanted by these cut coins, which were certainly in existence at the same time or immediately afterwards. Perhaps the earliest specimens extant of these cut coins are a severed half-penny of Siefred in the British Museum, and another in Major Creeke's collection of Anlaf, both of Northumbria in the first half of the tenth century. Their origin may have arisen of necessity when the copper styca,

or mite, of that country, was superseded by the southern or perhaps Danish penny in the ninth century, and smaller change must have been much in demand. Perhaps the people originally severed the penny themselves, but this was not so in later times, and in the days of Henry I the cut half-pennies and farthings were certainly, as such, issued direct from the mint.

As this statement is not in accordance with popular opinion, one or two reasons may be given for it. In 1108, Henry issued a mandate against debasement of the coinage, which, according to the contemporary chroniclers (Florence of Worcester ; Simeon of Durham ; Roger de Hoveden, &c.), concluded with the words :—

“and that no penny or halfpenny (obolus) which he also ordered to be of a round form, or even a farthing if it were perfect should be refused.”

The parenthesis that the half-penny in future must be of a round form can only have been a direction to the moneyers, for no one else could be affected by it. Moreover, if they had not been in the habit of issuing the cut half-pennies, something more than a mere direction as to its shape would have been necessary, before a half-penny could have become legal tender and current coin. This direction in the middle of a proclamation against debasement seems out of place, until light is thrown upon it by an examination of the cut half-pennies themselves. We have, perhaps, a hundred or two of these coins issued in Norman times, and it is significant that, when weighed against the pennies, it requires some twenty-seven or twenty-eight of them to equal a dozen pennies of the same types, and no two half-pennies have yet been found when put together to compose the original penny. The trial of the pix would detect a short-weight penny, but, with the

cut half-penny, the moneyer was safe, for he could sever the penny nearly, but not quite through the centre, issue the lighter portion and return the heavier to the crucible, then, if any question arose, the heavier segment would be presumed to be somewhere in circulation.

The fact that the fees, payable by the public upon converting a pound of bullion into the 240 pennies into which it was coined, were sixteen pence half-penny, tends to show that the moneyers issued that coin in change. And part of the miracle in Wendover's account of the conversion of St. Wulfric (the hunter of 1126) rests upon the presence of two pennies *and a half* of "the new coinage" in his wallet, whereas, if the money had already been in circulation, and so cut by the people, the incident would have been nothing out of the common.

No doubt it was Henry's intention that a round half-penny should be issued. The coinage would have been improved, and more fees received by the Crown, for the dies, but what was the inducement to the moneyers? To the honest, it meant double the work of striking pennies and more dies to pay for, without any additional return. To the dishonest, it offered no temptation, for a round half-penny would have been as easy to test by the pix as the penny. Therefore the moneyers seem to have placed a broad interpretation upon the order, which, in view of the explanation of its insertion just given, it very fairly bears, namely, "If you issue half-pennies at all they must in future be of a round form." As a result none were issued, and although we have the cut specimens of the types prior to this date—1108—we have none for many years afterwards, until just previous to 1125, when the coinage once more fell into a debased condition, and the severest penalties were enforced against the moneyers.

That no such thing as a round half-penny was issued at this period seems quite clear, for not only is there no evidence of it in our finds of Henry's coins, but anything of the kind was quite unknown previous to John's issue of the round Irish half-pennies. Otherwise Wendover, writing of them in 1210, would not have suggested that the latter at last fulfilled the prophecy of Merlin that "the tokens of commerce should be divided, and the half round." As a matter of fact, the cut coins were not finally abolished until the reign of Edward I, when, under the year 1279, Florence of Worcester's continuator records that:—

"An alteration was made in the English coinage, the *triangular* farthing being changed to a round one, but the old current money was for a time allowed to remain in circulation."

The "triangular farthing" can only refer to the cut quarter-penny, and as it was "current money" it must have been issued by the moneyers. Further, such half-pence and farthings issued to the close of the reign of Henry III are common enough in our cabinets.

CHAPTER II.

THE SUCCESSION OF TYPES AND THE LEGAL TENDER.

THE student of Domesday will notice, in the accounts of various mints, a constant repetition of the entry that, in addition to their rent, the moneyers paid certain fees to the King whenever the money was changed. These fees were for the new dies, and the change of the money implies the issue of a fresh type. The natural result of this method of procedure was that, as money was always in demand,

and the means of obtaining it so readily at the King's command, proclamations of new coinages became, in Saxon times, more and more frequent, until, during the twenty-five years of Edward the Confessor's reign, we know that at least a dozen distinct types were issued.

To proclaim a new coinage without placing some restriction upon the currency of the old would have been quite useless. The moneyers would have continued to use their old dies rather than pay for new ones, and it would have been no hardship to the people, as we are expressly told it was, unless they were periodically compelled to change their old money for new—or as the “Dialogue of the Exchequer” calls it, “present money,”—thus contributing large fees to the moneyers, who in turn contributed to the Exchequer. How little mere surmise there is in this may be shown by reference to any of the hoards of the period, which, though probably representing someone's savings of many years or “the family stocking,” never contain more than four or five different types at the most. Compare this with the finds deposited during the Stuart period, when a greater margin of legal tender was allowed, and we discover in the latter, coins of as many different Sovereigns—to say nothing of their various coinages—as there were types in the earlier finds; and to-day, £20 in silver would probably contain more varieties of types than any of the finds of coins of either Henry I or Stephen. Thus, in early times, the limit of legal tender must have very closely followed upon the coinage of the day, or otherwise twenty or thirty types at least would have found their way into the larger hoards.

This system of constant change in the tender appears to have been carried to excess in later Saxon times, and was naturally a great hardship to the people, who were

put to the cost of renewing their money so often, and therefore, at some time subsequent to the Conquest, the tax of *Monetagium* was introduced. This was, in effect, a compact between King and people, that in return for a hearth tax of twelve pence, payable every third year, the money should not be changed oftener than once in that period. There is one reference to "*monedagium*" (*sic*) in Domesday (under Lincoln), hence it was probably introduced by the first William to propitiate his new subjects, as the lesser of two evils, although it is usually credited to Ralph Flambard, the extortionate Justiciary of Rufus. But, whatever its actual date, it is clear that it soon became far more unpopular than the old custom which it was intended to ameliorate. If it was instituted immediately after the Conquest, it certainly did not restrict the number of new coinages to one in every three years, for we have examples of nearly a score of distinct types issued during the thirty-four years of the reigns of the two Williams. But if we accept it as referring to changes in legal tender for the time being, then, as the finds prove that two or three types, though issued successively, were always retained in currency at the same time, the period exactly suffices for a change every third year.

The more diplomatic Henry at once abolished this tax by his Coronation Charter, in which he says: "*Mone-tagium commune quod capiebatur per civitates et comitatus quod non fuit tempore regis Edwardi hoc ne amodo fiat omnino defendo.*" This, however, was a doubtful benefit to the people, as it left him a free hand to change the tender as often as he wished, and as his hold of the Crown strengthened he seems to have more frequently exercised the privilege. For instance, the two earliest hoards deposited in his reign contained four or five

different types, whilst the last two disclose only one or two types. Moreover, during his reign of thirty-five years, he issued no fewer than fifteen distinct coinages, and it is little to be wondered at that the moneyers, who thus had so many extra fees to pay, should have endeavoured to recoup themselves from the public by debasing and lightening the coinage.

Stephen's pecuniary necessities no doubt compelled him to continue the system during his troubled reign, but on the accession of Henry II it was abolished, for the civil wars of the former had shaken the stability of the Crown and strengthened the power of the people, and from that time to the days of Henry VIII, no King of England ventured to tamper with the coinage for the purpose of his individual gain.

So drastic and popular was this reform that the custom of frequent changes in the coinage was carried from one extreme to the other. Henry II only issued two coinages, and probably if the first had not been of wretched workmanship, the second would never have been required. The coins of his first issue, known as the "Tealby type," are so angular in shape, that one can readily understand *John de Taxter*, who used them, describing the second type by contrast as "a new coinage, of a round shape, struck in England." This was the famous "short cross type," which, as Sir John Evans discovered, was continued unchanged, even as to the King's name, throughout the reigns of Henry II's two sons and into that of his grandson. During the whole period of its issue, there could have been no change in the limit of legal tender, for there was no line of demarcation upon the coins themselves by which it could be defined. Any doubts entertained that Richard and John did, in fact, continue their father's

coinage *unchanged*, may be set at rest by reference to De Taxter, under the year 1205, for he tells us that "*The money issued long before in the year 1158 was this year recoinced.*"

In the face, therefore, of these extracts from De Taxter, and of similar statements to be found in nearly all the chroniclers of the Norman period, as, for instance, the expression in Wendover, "for at that time (1126) there was a new coinage in England in the days of Henry I," and further of the constant references in Domesday to payments "when the money was changed"; and again of the direct evidence of our hoards, it is surely impossible to argue that the various types of our coinage were not issued then, as they are now, in strict succession throughout the whole country. But when we come to the consideration of Henry's types, and the local history of the various mints from which they were issued, this fact will be abundantly proved.

CHAPTER III.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE MINTS.

As the issuing of money was in its origin a strictly royal privilege, it follows that, in the earliest times, the currency, like the laws, would emanate from the centre of government in every state or division, for it was but little required by the people, and one mint must have been ample for a large district. Thus the Romans in Britain governed the country from a general centre of operations, changed from time to time, and it is probable that whatever

coinage was issued by them in this country was minted at such centre.

On the division of England under the early Saxons, as each King would coin from his centre of government for the time being, there would, as yet, arise no more necessity for the name of the mint to appear on the coins than there is to-day, for each state would have but one mint. The name of the moneyer only would be required, so that his responsibility for their issue could be traced, and thus on the coinage of that period we find the names of the various moneyers unaccompanied by that of any place of mintage.

As the power of the Church increased, the Archbishops of Canterbury were granted, or had already acquired, the privilege of coinage in the eighth century; and so long as the centre of government of Kent was at Canterbury, and the money, both regal and archiepiscopal, was issued there, it was unnecessary to name the mint. But towards the end of that century, when Offa, King of Mercia, whose centre of government, and therefore of coinage, was in that country, subdued Kent, there would, for the first time, be two places of mintage contemporaneously issuing money under one Sovereign. The difficulty of identification would not immediately be apparent, for the regal and archiepiscopal coins were obviously dissimilar. But as Offa's action had shown that it did not necessarily follow that the regal currency of a State was issued from its own capital, Baldred, on his accession to the Kingdom of Kent in 805, introduced the custom of adding the name of the place of issue—Canterbury—upon some of his coins, and Vulfred, his Archbishop, did likewise.

This custom gradually gained ground until, during the troubled reign of Alfred, when the seat of government

was so often changed, we find upon the coins the names of at least seven cities in the southern half of England, but there seems no reason to suppose that each had not been for a time the centre of government for its district.

It is, however, in the famous law of Athelstan that we find the establishment of a general coinage throughout the country, which should be continued irrespective of changes of government, for by it he provided permanent mints in many of the most populated portions of the Kingdom. This law was the result of a great synod at "Greatanlea," and it was only natural that, in the distribution of so profitable a privilege as the regal mintage, the Church should stipulate for some share in it, and thus we find that in the larger districts, where several moneyers were required, they are divided between Church and State, some being under the King and some under the Bishop of the diocese, or even the Abbot. The effects of this concession were far more reaching than could probably be anticipated. Now that the profits of coinage were no longer the sole prerogative of the Crown or of the Archbishops, it was only to be expected that the great Ealdormen, whose power in their provinces was often only secondary to that of the King himself, would petition for privileges similar to those of the Bishops and Abbots, and there can be little doubt from the subsequent evidence given us in Domesday that they obtained them. There would, however, be this distinction between the position of the grantees under Athelstan's law and that of those who claimed under subsequent and individual charters of favour. The former would be confirmed under the general charter of privileges granted by each King on his accession, but the latter would also

require charters of confirmation to the heir upon the death of each grantee. In other words, one of the latter grants was a purely personal privilege—as at that time, indeed, was the tenure of the land itself to which it was attached—only exercisable by the grantee himself; it was therefore dormant during his absence abroad, and became extinct upon his death until regranted to his heir. Moreover, it required a confirmation charter upon the accession of every King. It must not, however, be imagined that a separate charter dealing with the right of coinage was required on the succession of the lord or grantee, as the general words in the usual charter accepting service from him for all his lands and honours and confirming his rights therein, included the minting rights, whether specified or not. The effect of this was, that the power of issuing the King's money from a mint granted by charter to an individual was strictly confined to the jurisdiction of the particular mint, and entailed the *presence of the grantee* in his lordship at the time of such issue.

There was, however, nothing special in the local and personal character of this tenure of a mint by grant, for it applied to most, if not to all, of the privileges accorded by a Sovereign to a subject. Knight's service, Grand Serjeanty, Cornage, and, in fact, all early tenures and privileges from the Crown, were of a personal character for a life estate only and entailed personal service. But, perhaps, an exactly parallel instance was that of the Court Baron, for this originally could only be held by the lord himself, and within the manor. Too much importance cannot be given to this question, for it explains the intermittent character of the issue of most of the mints in England from the days of Athelstan to those of Edward I, when the feudal character of the coinage

was entirely changed. If the lord were non-resident in his barony, there could be no coinage at the mint or mints of which he was grantee within it. Nor, in any case, after a new King's accession until a confirmation charter had been granted to him.

In the unfortunate reign of Ethelred II three causes tended to spread these chartered mints throughout the country. First, the imposition of Danegelt, which was the earliest land tax levied in England, and which, requiring an enormous coinage, rendered a mint a most profitable possession. Second, the King's pecuniary difficulties, which induced him to constantly issue fresh coinages for the sake of the fees they brought in, thereby necessitating the frequent change in the tender, until, in view of the difficulties of locomotion, it was essential that the people should have the means of changing their money almost at their doors. Third, the weakness of the Crown, which prohibited a refusal of the right of a mint to any powerful petitioner. Thus, at the commencement of Ethelred's reign, there were not a score of mints, whilst at its close there were over fifty.

This condition of the coinage obtained until the accession of Henry II, when, as we have seen, the arbitrary system of frequent changes in the tender was abolished, and thus a mint was no longer a profitable privilege. The result was remarkable. The number of mints in England immediately dropped from fifty under Stephen, to about thirty-five in Henry II's first type, and to seventeen or eighteen in his second, showing that most of the grantees of the chartered mints entirely ceased to exercise, or were refused a renewal of their privileges. Or to put it in the words of Hoveden, in his oft-quoted but misinterpreted passage:—

“In the reign of Stephen all the influential men, both bishops as well as Earls and Barons, coined their own money. But from the time when the Duke (Henry II) came over, he rendered null the coin of most of them.”

If the reader will glance for a moment at Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage*, vol. ii., he will notice that upon four out of every five mints described a comment is made to this effect: “This mint is not mentioned in Domesday, but it was worked as appears by coins of William I now remaining of it,” but no explanation is offered by Ruding. To understand the apparent omission one must consider what the primary object of Domesday was. The Saxon Chronicle tells us that—

In 1085 King William “sent his men throughout England, into every shire, and caused them to ascertain how many hundred hides of land it contained, and what lands the King possessed therein, what cattle there were in the several counties, and how much revenue he ought to receive yearly from each.”

The explanation is now quite clear. Where the King then received the whole or any portion of the *firma* or rent of the mint, it was duly credited in the returns, but where such had been granted to the baron or lord entirely, as was the case in nearly, if not all, the mints of minor importance, it would have been worse than useless—nay, a blunder—to have returned it in the revenue which “the King ought to receive yearly from each county.”

We may, therefore, accept Domesday *in toto*, as showing us what mints in the year 1086, or thereabouts, still coined as a whole or in part, under the King's direct authority, though they were often farmed by him to the burgesses of their towns. But all other mints then in existence were in the hands of grantees of the Crown under charter. This is the more apparent because, in

several instances, Domesday shows, by some incidental reference to a moneyer, or to the mint as a house, that the latter was then in being, and yet no return is made of its revenue. There were, however, some changes or grants of the royal mints between that year and the accession of Henry I in 1100, although, in most cases, the position appears to have been retained.

But there is this marked constitutional difference between the powers of the mints returned in Domesday as accounting for their *firma* directly to the Crown, and of those which are not. The former coined under the authority of the King, and therefore were enabled to do so continuously, type after type; the latter had only power to issue their money during the residence in his barony of their immediate lord, and therefore their output was intermittent, according to such lord's presence or absence.

During the Saxon period this distinction was not so important as after the Conquest, for the Saxon lords were resident here, but the Norman barons, in whom the chartered mints were vested, spent more of their time abroad than in England, and during Henry I's wars in Normandy, the absence of the grantees caused these mints to be dormant for long intervals, and this circumstance accounts for the great rarity in our cabinets of the types current in England during certain years of the reign.

Until now the general impression seems to have prevailed, that every mint of a reign issued a complete series of the King's types, and that, if we could only dig long enough, we should find every type for every mint; that our Norman forefathers had as perfect a system of government mints in constant operation throughout the land, as we have local post-offices to-day, and, in the words of our standard authorities, "that our early records,

“Domesday, the chronicles, charters, and supposed enactments, and the coins as we now have them, throw no light upon each other.” These are the theories which it is here the primary object to controvert and the importance of the attempt to prove, that an absolutely contrary system of coinage existed, must be the apology for the length of this treatise.

It is now claimed that those mints which are not included in the Domesday Survey, and those which are mentioned as having been the King’s in the time of the Confessor but are not returned as King William’s in 1086, and, again, those from which the King only received a portion of the revenue, were chartered mints. Therefore, a study of their history will at once disclose the years during which only there could have been an issue of coinage from those mints. The proof in support of this claim will commence with the history of the first of Henry’s mints, and finish with that of the last. It will be followed throughout the coinage of Stephen, and sufficient has been noted of the history of the mints under the Williams to show that they are no exceptions to this rule.

With the result of this reasoning—discovery if you like—before us, the whole difficulty of appropriating to their respective reigns the various types, now classed together, of the two Williams disappears, and it becomes as easy to assign the true order of their succession, and to ascertain the particular years during which each type was issued, as it has here been to assort the much scarcer coins of Henry I. We have consequently the material for a similar work upon the general Norman coinage which is now in progress.

But the question is not confined to numismatics alone.

It will help to check, and perhaps correct, many historical dates and events. If the history of a particular mint serves to fix the dates of its coinage, so the coinage of a mint should fix the dates of its history. Only one example need now be given. The creation of the Earldom of Gloucester in Henry's reign has been assigned at various times to half-a-dozen years between 1105 and 1122. But Mr. Round, in his exhaustive work *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, recently proved the true date to be 1121-June 1123. When Robert Fitz-Roy obtained the Earldom of Gloucester he became the grantee of the mints of Gloucester and Bristol, and the first type he issued—and he issued it concurrently from *both* mints—was the one for the years 1121-1123, and his coins of it could not have been issued later than the spring of the latter year (see Bristol and Gloucester).

CHAPTER IV.

THE MONEYS AND THEIR DIES.

FROM the eminent position of his name upon the reverse of the coinage, one would have thought that the moneyer was a high official of State, but this is far from being a fact. In the earliest Saxon times, perhaps, he was an officer of the Crown attendant on the King's person, and the designer of his own dies; hence the moneyers of the royal mints seem to have retained certain privileges, for they remained men of importance and tenants *in capite* of the Crown. But, as the demand for coin increased, and the mints became gradually extended throughout the country, the respective offices of designer of the coinage

and of the local moneyer became separate of necessity. The designer or cuneator seems to have remained an individual official of the Exchequer, but the moneyers of the chartered mints at least, as they increased in number, sank in importance until, in the reign of the Confessor, we have three or four hundred of them coining at one time or another, amongst the seventy mints or so of that reign.

It is almost needless to remark that, when fresh types, or coinages, as they were then called, were issued throughout England every two or three years, their designs and dies must have emanated from one common centre, or no such issues could have been simultaneous. Originally, no doubt, this centre was at Winchester, but at some time prior to the reign of Henry I, probably soon after the Conquest, it was removed to London. As one would naturally expect, the head of this centre was the king's goldsmith, and, in the reign of William I, he was Otto (or Otho) Aurifaber. Otto the goldsmith is mentioned in Domesday as holding lands in Essex and Suffolk, and it would seem, from certain writs of the Exchequer, issued in the reigns of Henry III and Edward I, that he and his descendants held these lands and others subsequently granted to them in petit serjeanty as cutters and keepers of the king's dies. This shows that the office was strictly hereditary, and it remained in the family, though not always exercised by its members, until the reign of Richard II.

That Otto was the engraver of the types is quite clear from various Exchequer records, but that he was the designer of them can only be inferred from his position, and the absence of any mention of a separate official for that purpose. But Orderic tells us that:—

In 1087, Rufus "delivered to Otho Aurifaber a large quantity of gold, silver, and precious stones, ordering him to erect a monument of extraordinary magnificence over his father's (William I) tomb. Accordingly, in obedience to the royal commands, he executed the work in an admirable manner, and the tomb may be seen resplendent with gold, silver and gems."

Surely the man to whom the design of the famous tomb of the Conqueror at Caen was entrusted was no mere die-sinker; and so we may safely take it for granted that he was also the designer of the coinage.

Otto the elder died in 1101, and Henry I then confirmed the office to his son, Otto the younger (see page 47). He, in turn, died before 1130, and in that year, as we shall presently see (pages 87 and 97), his son William Fitz Otho came of age and succeeded him. The family had now acquired great wealth, for William Fitz Otho received rents from several counties, a clerk of his is mentioned in the roll of 1130, and it is recorded that one of his men was killed in Devonshire.

We have thus some material evidence that the Norman coinages were designed and engraved by Otto the goldsmith and his descendants, and the only question now remaining is as to who cut the working dies? From a numismatist's point of view it would be more interesting to think that these were made at the respective mints, and that when we hold a coin of some outlying mint in our hands, we should see the local work of that mint complete in miniature handicraft. But, unfortunately, such was not the case in the reigns of the Norman kings, or at least the presumptive evidence is against it. During the sieges and counter-sieges of Stephen's reign, however, there were numerous exceptions, and in this fact lies not the least of the attractions which make the study of his coins more interesting than that of the coinage of any other reign.

The presumptive evidence that the working dies were sunk and issued by the workmen of Otto and his descendants at London has to be gathered from numerous documents and then compared as a whole. Domesday, when giving the returns of the mints in which the king still retained an interest, frequently repeats the expression: "*Quando moneta vertebatur quisque monetarius dabat xx solidos ad Londoniam pro cuneis monetæ accipiendis*" (Worcester). To pay the money to London for receiving the dies is not quite the same as to pay the money for receiving the dies *from* London, and it might be argued that, in any case, when a fresh type was issued, a pair of dies or devices must have been distributed to each mint from which the working dies could be copied. Henry I, in confirming the privileges of a mint to the Abbot of Bury St. Edmunds, directed the writ to the Bishop of Norwich (as the Spiritual Lord), to his Justiciaries or Sheriffs, and to *Otto the Goldsmith of London* (Otto the younger). The inclusion of Otto in this writ could only be for the purpose of a direction to him to supply the Abbot with the necessary dies. The Pipe Roll of 1130 records the murder of one of William Fitz Otho's men in Devonshire, which suggests the probability that he was there distributing the dies. It also mentions the *Aurifabri* of London twice, as receiving fees from the Exchequer in the first instance, and, in the second, as receiving sixty shillings and ten pence for coal or charcoal, which shows that they carried on a considerable public undertaking, nor are any other *Aurifabri* mentioned throughout the Roll. In the forty-ninth year of Henry III, Thomas Fitz Otto, the then representative of the family and hereditary *cuneator*, successfully petitioned the King in the Court of Exchequer for the return

of the *old and broken dies* as his perquisite, alleging that they belonged to him of right and inheritance, and that his ancestors had been accustomed to have them. A writ dated November 17th, 1338, directed to John de Flete, warden of the King's mint in London, commanded him:

“to make three dies of hard and sufficient metal at the expense of the Abbot, one for pennies, another for half-pennies, and the third for farthings, for the making of money in a certain place in Reading *with such impression and circumscription* as the Abbot should appoint; and to send the same as soon as possible to the King's Exchequer at Westminster, *that they might* be delivered to the said Abbot within fifteen days from the feast of St. Martin next ensuing, at the furthest.”

There are many other similar records, but the above seem sufficient for our purpose, as not only do they suggest that the working dies were all issued from London, but that the “old and broken” ones were called in and returned to the Ottos. The last-quoted writ, too, removes the only objection to this theory, namely, that so many of the mints used curious mint marks or badges upon their coins, such as bars, crosses, annulets, trefoils, &c., for otherwise it would seem strange that such eccentricities (though each had its purpose) should have been issued from the London centre. But the expression “with such impression and circumscription as the Abbot should appoint,” explains all this, for the grantee of each mint apparently issued his own directions to the cuneator for the reverse legends, and for such peculiarities (if any) as he desired upon his dies. Nor must we forget that the particular “impression” ordered by the Abbot under this writ was an escallop shell in one quarter of the reverse cross, the arms of Reading Abbey. Some coins struck from these particular dies still remain to us.

We have now only to deal with the position of the

moneyer. From Domesday we gather that some of the larger mints had six or eight moneyers coining at the same time, and they are generally divided between the King, the territorial lord, and the Bishop or Abbot. They probably all worked together in the same mint, but separate accounts were kept of their output. Their position, too, would vary, as they were moneyers of a royal mint or of a chartered one, for, in the former case, they would be minor officials of the Crown, and, as such, freemen, but in the latter they were as Eadmer described them, "men in the power of their lord" (Vita S. Dun., c. 27, p. 202). But whatever their position, their office seems to have been *practically* hereditary, for in reign after reign we find the same names handed down in most of the mints; and Domesday (under Lincoln) and the Pipe Rolls show us that, usually, son succeeded father, or nephew uncle. Probably this would arise from a system of apprenticeship, which would naturally favour the moneyer's own family. Their lot, however, was not a happy one, for they were subject to the severest penalties of mutilation and fine that the law could devise, and, judging from the Rolls, these were not unfrequently inflicted. Their names are rarely handed down to us, except on the coins themselves, unless they have suffered such penalties, therefore one can only infer that they were very minor officials indeed, and the doctrine of "*alter ab illo micat*" is very far from applying to the two names upon the obverse and reverse of a Saxon or Norman coin, for there could hardly be a greater contrast. It is true that Erebald and William his son, moneyers of Carlisle, farmed the silver mines there, but Carlisle was a royal mint, and it was in consequence of the discovery of those mines that the mint was established, and they, no doubt,

farmed it also of the Crown. It seems moreover not to have been unusual for a moneyer to carry on another business or occupation as well as that of coining, and, during the intermittent coinages of most of the mints, this must of course have been necessary.

The purpose of the name and address of the moneyer upon the coin was, as the Dialogue of the Exchequer tells us, that his responsibility for the weight and quality of the coin could be at once established, and this is additional evidence that the sinking of the dies was not left to him, as, if dishonestly inclined, his own name would have been the last he would have stamped upon a base issue. The same authority, too, clearly indicates that the moneyer could only strike the money at the place named upon the reverse. The Pipe Rolls also prove this, for, in every case of a conviction for false coining, and there are many, the moneyer can only be identified upon coins bearing the name of the same town where he was so convicted, and we know that it was always the Common Law that the venue lay where the offence was committed. Thus, if London moneyers, for instance, could have followed the King, and struck coins at Winchester from their London dies, we should have convictions recorded under Hampshire against names familiar to us upon the London coins, and this is never the case.

Much controversy has been devoted to the word ON, which almost invariably separates the moneyer's name from that of the mint, on the later Saxon and on Norman coins. It first came into general use in the reign of Ethelred II, and as it replaced the contraction MON for *Monetarius*, there are some grounds for believing that it originally represented that word; but whatever its origin, it seems quite clear that in the eleventh and twelfth

centuries it stood for the modern word OF. The proof of this is, that there are three instances where the word ON is omitted, and replaced by another form or word, always meaning OF. The first occurs on certain coins of the Williams and of Stephen, on which the Latin genitive case is used in its stead, as, for instance, +SASOTI STEFANII, +WHICHÆLINVS DERBI. The second upon many coins of Stephen, and most of those of the Empress Matilda, and of David, and of William the Lion of Scotland, upon which the word ON is replaced by the Norman DE; and the third on a unique coin of Stephen of the ordinary type, but upon which the English word OF itself is clearly substituted for the usual word ON. But even to Shakespeare's time, this meaning of the word ON seems to have survived, thus :—

“ A thriving gamester has but a poor trade *on't*.”

CHAPTER V.

TREASURE TROVE DEDUCTIONS.

DURING the long reign of Henry I, which extended from the second of August, 1100, to his death, on the first of December, 1135, there must have been a vast quantity of money coined. It was comparatively a reign of peace; in fact, so far as England itself was concerned, the country had probably never before enjoyed thirty years of such uninterrupted tranquillity as it did in the last three decades of Henry's rule. The king had succeeded to the immense treasures accumulated by the greed of Rufus. He compelled payment of taxes in coin instead of kind. Silver mines were opened in Cumberland. Guilds were

being established in many of the large towns. The Flemings were developing their industries in the North of England and in South Wales. Most of the castles, cathedrals, and abbeys were still under construction, and, in fact, everything tended towards the supply and demand of money and money's worth. Thus, if our coins were not dependent in *quantity* on the accident of discovery, those of Henry I ought to be amongst the commonest in our cabinets of any of our early English kings.

On the other hand, in the days when men for safety hid their wealth in the earth, it was when the great waves of turmoil passed over the land that most treasure was lost, for their owners were often slain, and their secrets died with them. Hence, the plenitude of Edward the Confessor's money is in a great measure accounted for by the troubles of Harold II's nine months' reign, during which it was still in circulation. Stephen's civil wars have rendered his money, and Henry's later types, far more numerous than the general coinage of the latter. And the same cause has rendered treasure trove of John, Henry III, Edward II, Edward IV, and Charles I a plentiful harvest of the spade.

The finds of Henry I's coins, therefore, have been few, and unfortunately the records of them are still fewer. The finds that have been recorded will be dealt with more fully under the descriptions of their types, but it is sufficient here to say that they consist of eleven, of which only five were deposited in Henry's reign. These eleven (with the exception of one in Italy) are spread over various counties in the midland and southern portions of Great Britain, namely :—

Find.	Approximate Date of Deposit.	Number of Types of Henry I.	Approximate Number of Coins of Henry I.	Remarks.
Bermondsey, Surrey	1101	1	5	Also 8 coins of William II.
Shillington, Bedfordshire	1106	2 or more	Unrecorded	250 coins of William II and Henry I, but records incomplete.
Bari, Italy	1114	2	27	Also many Continental coins. Date of deposit is, in this case, that of probable export.
Milford Haven, Pembrokeshire	1129	1 (? 2)	Perhaps 50	Only Henry I.
Battle, Sussex	1132	3	12 ?	Only 12 are described; there were probably more.
Nottingham	Stephen's Reign	3	20	Also about 150 of Stephen's reign.
Dartford, Kent	Do.	1	4	Also about 61 of Stephen's reign.
Watford, Hertfordshire	Do.	2	456 21 half-pennies	Also 649 of Stephen's reign, and an "accidental" half-penny of William I—II.
Linton, near Maidstone, Kent	Do.	1	6 1 halfpenny	Also about 173 of Stephen's reign.
Wallsop, Wiltshire	Do.	Several	Unrecorded	Also many of Stephen's reign.
Ashby-Wolds, Leicestershire	Henry II's Reign	1	Do.	About 450 of Henry I, Stephen, and Henry II.

From the meagre details given us of the Shillington, Wallsop, and Ashby-Wolds finds, it is impossible to deduce what proportion the above hoards contributed to the whole of the coins of Henry's reign now known, but it must not

be forgotten that Mr. Rashleigh tells us, in his admirable account of the Watford discovery (N. C. 12, p. 143), that three-fifths of the whole of that find were condemned to the crucible. Nor is it easy to estimate the number of Henry's coins known in this country. The subjoined list will contain descriptions of exactly 1,000 specimens; but though duplicate references will be avoided so far as possible, they must in a measure exist, for, unless the connecting link is clear, it is safer to insert two similar readings than to take it for granted that they represent the same coin. The list, however, is not proffered as complete, but the total number to-day of our coins of Henry I probably exceeds 800, and falls short of 1,000.

As the records of the above finds do not include more than half of Henry's types, we shall be safe in assuming that there must have been at least twenty such discoveries altogether, and when we remember that not one of the recorded finds, although the dates of their discoveries extend over a hundred years, has added a single fresh type to those already known to Hunter, Tyssen, Snelling, and Withy in the last century, we may conclude that we have now a complete series of the types of Henry's reign. Moreover, to carry the argument a step further, as, since that of Watford in 1818, no recorded find has added a new town to our list of this king's mints (although one or two, possibly found long before Watford, but unnoticed, will be presently given), we may also infer that, taking Henry's coinage as a whole, our cabinets very nearly contain a general representation of it in its entirety.

It does not, however, follow that, because a certain type is much commoner to-day than the others, it was originally more plentifully coined, the quantity in our possession depending merely upon the accident of discovery. For

instance, most of the finds of Henry's coins happen to have been deposited in Stephen's reign; and therefore his two last types are represented in greater quantity than all the others put together. But the duration of a type in circulation may be approximated in this way. If a type had been long in circulation when its specimens were deposited, coins from many mints would be mixed together, and so, if taken in batches of say fifty (the number of possible mints), the proportion of towns to the number of coins would be larger, but if it had been only recently issued, then only the mints in the immediate neighbourhood of collection would be represented, no matter how many coins were deposited; and so, if we take the whole of our coins as representing one general find of the reign deposited at various times, we can form some idea of the original circulation of the various coinages between the limits of legal tender.

Hitherto numismatists have assumed that because one type bore a close or general similarity to another, the two were issued successively, but this was exactly the object which the Norman authorities at certain intervals had most carefully to avoid. When few but the clergy could either read or write, how were the people to draw the line of demarcation between what was current coin and what was obsolete, save by such a difference in the device as could be clearly described by public proclamation? The most obvious difference would be obtained by altering the position of the king's head into profile. Bearing in mind, therefore, that it was absolutely necessary that the people should be able to understand at a glance what coins were from time to time called in, and what were still a legal tender, the following simple theory or rule at once suggests itself as meeting the case—viz: "The issue of a

profile type limited the legal tender or 'present money' — '*solos usuales et instantis monetæ legitimis denarios*' — as the 'Dialogue of the Exchequer' terms it, to those types only which had been issued since the previous profile type." Now to prove the theory. It follows as a matter of course that, if the theory be correct, no two profile types ought to appear in any one find, for the issue of the later profile type invalidates the currency of the earlier, but it is immaterial how many front-faced types appear, for they represent the intermediate and sanctioned currency. We will therefore glance at the whole of the Norman finds, which have been sufficiently recorded for this purpose. It must, however, be remembered that as the tax of *monetagium* was only introduced after the Conquest, no such regulation may have existed in Saxon times.

Find.	Number of Coins.	Types.
Dimchurch .	100 ? Norman	1 profile only.
York . . .	200 ? Norman	1 profile, 1 front face.
London City	5 Norman	2 front face only.
Beaworth .	10,000 (about)	1 profile, 3 front face.
Tamworth .	300	1 profile, 3 front face.
Bermondsey	13	3 front face only.
Shillington .	250	1 profile, 3 front face (?)
Bari . . .	27	2 front face only.
Milford Haven	50 ?	1 profile, (?) 1 front face.
Battle . .	12 ?	1 profile, 2 front face.
Nottingham .	170 (about)	1 profile, 3 front face.
Dartford . .	65	1 profile, 1 front face.
Watford . .	1,150	1 profile, 2 front face.
Linton . .	180	1 profile, 2 front face.

In the Beaworth and Dartford cases, it is true that there are two profile types, but they are only varieties of reverse, or what are called "mules," as in both instances the obverse types are identical.

Thus the coincidence is far too remarkable to admit of any other explanation than some such purpose as the one suggested, for we have more than twelve thousand coins discovered in fourteen different finds, and in no case is there more than a single profile type! If the reader will refer to Hawkins' *Silver Coins of England*, he will find that there are about thirty-five distinct *regal* types in the Norman series, and the proportion of profile to front-faced obverses (after discarding varieties of reverse only) is as 10 to 25, or one to two and a-half; and this is precisely the average of the same proportion in the above list of finds. It may also be remarked that, with the abolition of frequent changes in the legal tender, on Henry II's accession, the profile types being therefore no longer required entirely disappeared from our English coinage until three centuries later, when Henry VII remodelled the general currency by the introduction of the shilling, and struck it *in profile*.

When the types of Henry's reign are described it will be noticed that, in one instance, two profile types come together, or rather, one succeeds the other; but it was on the occasion of the great Inquisition of the Moneyers in 1125 when, in consequence of the general debasement of the money, a new coinage was suddenly ordered. Therefore, as this occurred during the issue of a profile type, the second type also bore the King's head in profile, and thus again invalidated all money issued up to its own date, and constituted itself the commencement of an entirely new currency, for, to quote the words of Wendoever, "at that time there was a new coinage in England." Is not this the explanation of the modern custom of every sovereign's head being reversed in position to that of his predecessor's? Charles II originated it to show his

contempt for Cromwell—so it is said, and perhaps some tradition of the power of “estoppel” of a distinctive profile type still lingered in men’s minds in those days.

Before proceeding to the descriptions of the coins themselves a grateful acknowledgment is due to those who have so kindly supplied particulars of the specimens in their possession. Their names will appear in every case, and from their information a much more complete list of Henry I’s coins has been furnished than otherwise would have been possible. The authorities of the public museums in London, Glasgow, Oxford, Cambridge, Nottingham, and Worcester, for instance, have contributed particulars and casts of several hundred specimens, and Mr. L. A. Lawrence, whose great interest in this subject is so well known, has rendered generous assistance in every branch of this work.

CHAPTER VI.

THE TYPES.

The Evolution of Design.

WE have seen that there were three hereditary designers of the coinage during this long reign, and it is only to be expected that there would be a considerable improvement or modernization between the work of the first and of the last, and that each would show some peculiarities.

Otto *aurifaber* is mentioned more than once in Domesday, and had held office since the days of the Conqueror. His work is easy to distinguish, for he carries forward

the identical form of letters used upon William II's coins, viz. :

Two uprights unjoined and often without the cross-bar, thus, II for A, and the same uprights for V.

The square or Roman H, E, and G (though usually 6) for H, C and G. H often representing N, M or H, and being sometimes reversed as N.

The Saxon Ð for T H and P for W.

I E for Æ and letters often joined together in monogram as HE, ND, &c.

He uses either HENRIEVS (often blundered) or HENRI and sometimes REX ANG for the King's name and title, but *never* HENRIE.

His favourite ornament is the annulet.

He died in 1101, and was succeeded by his son (see p. 47).

Otho Fitz Otto introduces several changes.

H is soon entirely discarded for h, and Ð presently becomes in nearly all cases simply T.

G is finally replaced by 6.

A, N, M, Æ assume their modern forms, and sometimes C and E appear on his later types.

He uses HENRI at first, but soon changes to hENRI, hENRIE and hENRIEVS for the King's name.

Under him two pellets in the form of a colon are gradually introduced to separate the different words—a custom still in evidence upon our coinage of to-day.

His designs are profuse with ornaments, until in his later types he seems to aim at filling up every particle of *field* with small annulets, stars, quatre-foils, &c.

He probably died about 1120.

His son, William Fitz Otho, appears to have been too young to immediately succeed him, and between 1120 and 1125 we note the hand of a very inferior designer, who, whilst retaining his predecessor's letters (with the addition of Ω), ornaments, and colons of division, produces work of so rude and uncertain a character that two dies are rarely alike (see p. 74).

He also reverts to the old custom of using REX ANG for the title.

He was probably removed at the Inquisition of Christmas, 1125.

In 1126 there is a great improvement in the dies. William Fitz Otho is now serving his apprenticeship under someone who, judging from his work, must have been the best numismatic artist England had until the time of Henry VII (see p. 87).

The modern W is introduced on some of his coins. Also "Th," although the Saxon \mathfrak{D} is still occasionally retained.

He attempts a portrait.

He invariably uses HENRIEVS and the colons of division.

With the exception of a star he dispenses with ornaments.

In 1130 the "Pipe Roll" tells us that William Fitz Otho paid certain fees that he might no longer have a master over him. He, therefore, has now completed his apprenticeship and succeeds to his hereditary office (see p. 87).

He discards the Saxon \mathfrak{D} entirely, and with the

exception of upon one or two "irregular" coins of Stephen it never again appears upon our coinage. He invariably uses the colons of division. Often the modern W and sometimes the round C appear. He dispenses with all ornaments. He uses hENRI, hENRIE, hENRIEV or hENRIEVS.

REFERENCES.

As every English numismatist is, or ought to be, conversant with Mr. Kenyon's edition of "*Hawkins' Silver Coins of England, 1887*," all references to the types will in future be given to the numbers of his illustrations, and where one is not there represented, by reference to the number of the type in his letterpress. In the latter case, as a distinction, such number will be given in Roman numerals. Although Mr. Hawkins assigns twenty types to this reign, there are in effect but fifteen which, for reasons dealt with at the end of this chapter, can rightly be appropriated to it, and, although it is usually thought otherwise, a reference to his letterpress under Type XI. will prove that he does not attempt to describe them in their order of issue.

For convenience of reference, the "mule" varieties, *i.e.* coins struck from the obverse die of one type and the reverse die of another, will be described under the obverse type; but it is obvious that if the reverse die is the later one, the coin must have been issued after its introduction.

As the first half of this treatise goes to press before the material for the second portion is completed, the list of mints and number of specimens given under each Type may subsequently be subject to some correction.

TYPE I.

1100—1102.



Fig. A.

HAWKINS, 251.

Examples also illustrated.—Ruding, i., 15; Sup. ii., 2; Snelling, i., 13; Withy and Ryall, ii., 1-5; *Num. Chron.*, 1881, iii., 1, and 1893, xii., 251; Montagu Catalogue, ii., 271, v., 95.

Obv.—Legend.

✠HENRI REX AN
 ✠HNRI R ANL
 ✠HNRI REX NL
 ✠HNRI REX N
 ✠HENRI REX N
 ✠HNRI REX NG
 ✠HNRI REX NI
 ✠HNRI REX
 [✠H]EHH REX
 ✠HENRI REX
 ✠HENRI REX

✠HNRI REX I
 ✠HENRIEVS RE
 ✠HNRIEVS REX
 ✠HNRIEVS RE
 ✠HNRIEVS REI
 ✠HNRIEVS RI
 ✠IHRIESNIS REX
 ✠HNRIIE
 ✠HNREEX NI
 ✠HNR REEX NI

Crowned bust, facing, an annulet on either side of the head, within an inner circle springing from the shoulders.

Rev.—Cross fleury, annulet in centre; in each angle, three pellets in form of a trefoil inwards, with two stalks curving outwards to the inner circle. All within an inner circle. [Pl. II., Nos. 1—5.]

Mints—20.

Canterbury
 Chester or
 Lewes
 Dover
 Hastings
 Ipswich
 Lewes
 Lincoln

London
 Norwich
 Oxford
 Rochester
 Salisbury
 Southwark
 Stamford

Taunton (?)
 Thetford
 Wallingford
 Wareham or
 Warwick
 Winchester
 York

Hawkins gives Dorchester, Leicester, Newark, and St. Edmundsbury; but the first is a Dover coin, the second a Chester or Lewes, the third a London, and the fourth a Lewes coin.

Henry is in England during the whole period of 1100 and 1102. Unless otherwise stated the types are assumed to commence and close with the Exchequer year, *i.e.*, at Michaelmas.

Number of specimens noted.—70, or allowing for probable duplicate references, say 55. Varieties, 3.

Finds containing this type.—Bermondsey and Nottingham (a single, probably accidental, example).

Weight and quality.—20 to $22\frac{1}{2}$ grains of good silver.

Form of letters.—II = A. E = C. G and G = G.

H = H. H, M and N = M. H, N and N = N. P =

W. II = V. Ð = TH. IE = Æ, and letters are often joined together as NE, NI, ND.

That this is the first type of the reign cannot be doubted, for it bears too close a resemblance in lettering and design to the coins of Rufus to be separated from them. Also, it was the only type of Henry I which appeared in the Bermondsey find (*Num. Chron.* viii. 170), which contained five specimens of it, the remaining coins being of three types of William II. This hoard, therefore, must have been deposited very early in the reign, and before any other type was current. But there are other reasons for the position of this type as the first. The Saxon letters H, *ƿ* and Ð are still invariably retained, and it is the only type of the reign issued before it became customary to join the two uprights II representing A or V at the head or foot, and on which the square G appears. Also it is one of only two types issued prior to the intro-

duction of the form "H," which was shortly to become so universal in place of the old H.

The spelling, too, of the King's name tells its own tale. England had never seen the name "Henry" upon her coins either as King or even moneyer, and naturally at first Otto and his die-sinkers blundered over its Latin form. In evidence of this are the many variations and errors by which it is represented in the above list, and yet nothing of the sort appears on any other type. Exactly the same difficulty occurred with King Stephen's name when it was introduced, for his first type discloses every variation in spelling, but his subsequent types none. Perhaps the spelling of the Conqueror's name will similarly disclose his earliest coinage.

The design of the great seal is necessarily one of the first undertakings upon a King's accession. Henry's bore the legend HENRICVS DEI GRATIA REX ANGL \diamond RVM. (See **Plate I**). It was probably Otto's work also and, subject to the then usual omission of DEI GRATIA, we notice a very close imitation of its inscription upon the coins of this type, and yet (with the exceptions of one or two varieties of the next two types) for many years afterwards no attempt is made at any form of the title ANGLORVM, nor does the name *Henricus* in full again appear upon any type for nearly a dozen years.

This type also bears a much larger proportion of the names of those moneyers who struck the Conqueror's coins in the Beaworth hoard, deposited more than a dozen years before, than any other type of Henry's reign. Also upon it are found all the older forms of the moneyers' and mints' names, and altogether its coins are clearly earlier in every respect than those of any of the other types.

The coins are of good silver, and some even attain the

full weight, viz. $22\frac{1}{2}$ grains, but no doubt Henry's enactment in his Coronation Charter, that "if anyone shall be taken, either moneyer or other, with false money, let justice be done upon him according to the law," was still fresh in men's minds.

As Henry was in England during the whole period of the issue of this type, 1100—1102, most of his barons would be here also—especially at his Coronation, which we know many of them came over specially from Normandy to attend. Thus the large number of twenty mints represented upon the coins of this type is accounted for by the fact that the grantees of the chartered mints were in England, and therefore enabled to exercise their privileges at this time.

- Varieties—(A) In his account of the Bermondsey find, Mr. Hawkins mentions a coin "very similar to type 251, but without the annulets over the shoulders."
- (B) A London coin in the British Museum has what appears to be an eight-shaped ornament in place of one of the annulets on the obverse, but it is probably an accident of striking.
- (C) There is a "mule" coin described under the next type 254 with obverse of that and reverse of this type.

TYPE II.

1102—1104.



Fig. B.

HAWKINS, 254.

Examples also illustrated.—Ruding, Sup., ii., 3, and part ii., i, 4; *Num. Chron.*, 1893, xii., 254.

Obv.—Legend. ✠HENRI REX ✠HENRI RI
 ✠HENRI RE ✠HENRI REI
 ✠HENRI R ✠HENRI RIEX

Crowned bust in profile to left, before a sceptre; no inner circle. Sometimes a tiny annulet upon the right shoulder.

Rev.—Cross fleury or composed of four trefoils, annulet or sometimes a pellet in the centre; within an inner circle. [Pl. II., Nos. 6—9.]

Mints—13.

Bristol	Lincoln	Southwark
Canterbury	London	Stamford
Exeter	Norwich	Thetford
Hastings	Salisbury	York
Leicester		

Henry is in England for about eighteen months between 1102 and 1104.

Number of specimens noted.—32, or, allowing for possible duplicate references, say 28. Varieties.—1.

Finds.—None recorded of this type.

Weight and quality.—18 to 19 grains, debased metal.

Form of letters.—Precisely similar to the previous type, save that the A and V are rarely disjointed.

It will be noticed that there is a marked difference between the style of this type and that of its predecessor. It is much smaller in diameter, and no longer bears the characteristic features of the coins of Rufus. The inner circle which had invariably appeared upon the obverse and reverse of our money for a quarter of a century—in fact during the whole term of office of Otto *aurifaber*—is

now for a time discontinued upon the obverse, and there is a temporary retrogression in the general art displayed, only to be explained by the introduction of the hand of a new designer. In the British Museum there is an ancient MS. copy of a Charter by Henry I appointing Otho Fitz Otto to the office of *aurifaber* in succession to his father, but it is undated (*Chartæ Antiquæ Lond.* Y. 17). As, however, it is addressed to Maurice, Bishop of London, and Hugh de Bocland, witnessed by Robert, Earl of Mellent, William de Warren and William de Albini, and granted at Arundel, its date must be Midsummer, 1101, and this type is therefore the first designed by the new *aurifaber*. The date of the Charter is deduced as follows:—Maurice, Bishop of London, died in 1107; Robert de Mellent and William de Warren were, prior to 1107, only in England at the same time from August, 1100, to September, 1101 (see Lewes and Leicester); and Henry, Robert de Mellent, and William de Warren were together in the neighbourhood of Arundel at Midsummer, 1101; immediately after which de Warren deserted Henry's cause, and was subsequently banished.

As this is the only other type upon which the old form "H" instead of "h" invariably appears, there can be little doubt that it is the second of the reign. It will be noticed that the curious spellings RI, REI and RIEIX all appear on this type as on the previous one, and yet they never occur again. The lettering, too, is almost identical, and the annulet ornament is retained upon the reverse. The fact that all these coins read HENRI suggests that that form was the latest in use on the dies of the previous type, if, indeed, it was not introduced in 1101 by Otho Fitz Otto upon his appointment. Finally the "mule" of obverse of this type and reverse of the last

(presently described under "varieties") connects the two, and should conclusively prove the succession. The coins, though much smaller in diameter than usual, are thicker. The silver of most is obviously debased, and the average weight only nineteen grains. This is the commencement of the first debasement of the coinage, which culminated in the drastic proclamation of 1108 previously referred to. Perhaps one of the causes of this was the impoverished condition of the country owing to the payment of 3,000 marks—480,000 pennies! (or 3,000 *pounds* according to Ordericus)—to Robert of Normandy in 1102 and 1103 under the 1101 treaty, for Wendover records that it was paid for two years. This debasement was soon discovered, for Brompton, Knyghton and Hemingford state that Henry, at the Christmas Court of 1103, found it necessary to increase the punishment of the moneyer for debasing the coinage by adding that of loss of sight and mutilation; in other words, he made it treason to tamper with the King's money. The penalty, under Athelstan's law, having hitherto been

"let the hand be struck off with which he wrought that offence and be set up on the money smithy" (Kenyon).

Variety—(A) The Whitbourn Catalogue contained a coin described as "Penny, bust to left, with sceptre; reverse Hawkins, 251, of the London mint, unique." This is a "mule" of obverse of this and reverse of the previous type.

TYPE III.

1104—1106.



Fig. C.

HAWKINS, 253.

Examples also illustrated.—Ruding, *Sup.*, i., 7; Snelling, i., 15; Withy and Ryall, ii., 11 and 13; Warne's *History of Dorset*, i., 15; *Num. Chron.*, 1893, xii., 253.

Obv.—Legend.

- (A) ✠ HENRI REX EN ✠ HENRI REX
✠ HENRI RE ✠ HENRI RXI
✠ HIENRI R
- (B) ✠ hENRI REX T ✠ hENRI REX E
✠ hENRI RE

Crowned bust facing, sometimes an annulet on the shoulder; no sceptre or inner circle.

Rev.—PAX across the field and between two lines; above and below, two annulets; all within an inner circle. On many the lines are duplicated. [Pl. II., Nos. 10—14.]

Mints—16.

Bristol	Norwich	Wareham or
Canterbury	Salisbury	Warwick
Colchester	Stamford	Wilton
Hastings	Sudbury	Winchester
Ipswich	Thetford	York
London	Taunton or Tamworth?	

The “BISES” coin queried by Hawkins is assigned to Bristol. The specimen of this type given by him to Lincoln is removed to London.

Henry is in England for about twelve months between 1104 and 1106.

Number of specimens noted.—36, or allowing for possible duplicate references, say 30.

Finds.—None recorded.

Weight and quality.—19 to 20 grains, usually of fine silver.

Form of letters.—On many of the coins the later “h” is now first introduced. A, M, N, and T usually assume these forms, though the diphthong *Æ* is still represented by I E, and the other letters remain unaltered.

As about half these coins commence the King's name with the old H, and the remainder with the later or Lombardic h, the change probably occurred in the middle of the issue, viz., in 1105.

Under the two previous types some ninety coins have been referred to, every one of which bears the old form H. After this type many hundreds will be described, and yet not one of them has on the obverse any other form than the Lombardic “h.” (The H in the engraving, Ruding, Supp. ii., 11, 13, type 258, when compared with the coin proving to be an error for h.) Nothing could be more drastic than the abolition of the old H, and nothing can therefore be more convincing that this must be the third type of the reign.

There is another innovation almost as important. Hitherto on Saxon and Norman coins there has not been any attempt at a separation of the words forming the legends, but now on one or two of these coins, probably the latest issued, two pellets in the form of a colon are used after the moneyer's name, but in no case do they

appear between each word, as was so soon to become customary. Oddly enough, in each case they appear to follow a contraction, as they do on coins of to-day.

Having now ascertained the approximate date (1104-6) of this type, we are one step nearer the solution of the oft-debated problem of the meaning of the word PAX on this, and in one form or another upon certain types of every preceding reign to that of Canute; but this is its last appearance. When the coinage of the two Williams comes to be treated similarly to that of this reign, and the date of the well-known PAXS types ascertained, the explanation, if any, should at once be apparent, but pending that only surmise can still be offered. The simpler the foundation the stronger the hypothesis, and so PAX must be assumed to mean PEACE, or a *Treaty of Peace*. It has therefore often been suggested that, in this instance, it refers to Henry's treaty with Robert of Normandy late in the summer of 1101. That date would tally very well with the issue of the second type (254) in 1102, but not with this, which was not issued until 1104. Moreover, that treaty was a humiliating one to Henry, for under it he had to pay tribute to Normandy, and it is more than doubtful whether he ever intended to keep it. But we are told that, after the suppression of Robert de Belême's rebellion:—

“In 1103, Robert Duke of Normandy came over to England, and, by the King's craftiness, was induced for various reasons to release him from his obligations to pay the tribute of 3,000 marks.”—(Huntingdon, cf. *Saxon Chronicle*, &c.)

This confirms the original treaty, but removes from it all that was objectionable from Henry's point of view, for it recognises his independent title to the throne. Prior to this, his right had only been that of possession

and election, a right actually weakened by the treaty of 1101, for by it he obviously acknowledged Robert's prior claims. But now, by whatever means the new treaty was obtained, and it savoured of personal intimidation, he is acknowledged an independent sovereign, freed from tribute or homage to Robert. Thus, though short-lived as both treaties afterwards proved to be, Henry would attach the utmost importance to them at the time, and when a few months afterwards, in 1104, a new type was issued, they would be still foremost in his mind. Not only did he thus commemorate the treaties upon his coins, but he similarly dated his charters by them, as, for instance, his charter to Eudo Dapifer, "in primo Natali post concordiam Roberti Comitis fratris mei de me et de illo" (see Colchester, p. 160).

Varieties.—None.

TYPE IV.

1106—1108.



Fig. D.

HAWKINS, 252.

Examples also illustrated.—Ruding, Sup., i., 9; Snelling, i., 14; *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1800, p. 817; *Num. Chron.*, 1893, xii., 252.

Obv.—Legend. ♣ hENRI REX ♣ hENRI RE

Crowned bust facing, usually an annulet on the left shoulder, and one on each of the three points of the crown. No inner circle.

Rev.—Tressure composed of four convex curves and four pyramids outwards surmounted by annulets, alternate. In the centre, an annulet usually encircling a pellet. All within an inner circle. [Pl. III., Nos. 1—3.]

Mints—14.

Exeter	London	Stamford (?)
Hastings	Norwich	Thetford
Ipswich	St. Edmundsbury	Winchester
Leicester	Southampton	York
Lincoln	Southwark	

The coins reading “SAN” are attributed to St. Edmundsbury.

Henry is in England for about fifteen months between 1106 and 1108.

Number of specimens noted.—52, or allowing for probable duplicate references, say 45. Varieties.
—None.

Finds.—Shillington.

Weight and quality.—20 grains, but some, 22. The quality varies greatly, a few being apparently of good silver, but most are very base.

Form of letters.—IE still represents Æ, but “h” now invariably appears, and the Saxon Ð is usually represented by T alone. The colons or pellets of division appear in one or two instances as separating the three words on the reverse, and in one instance upon the obverse, Fig. D.

Having passed through the transition stage of the letter H to h, we commence that of the Ð. This old Saxon letter struggled long for existence, and is even found on one or two curious coins of Stephen. It is, however, in this type that we find it first superseded. But the change was not a happy one, for the H was entirely

dropped for a time, and the TH represented by T alone. For instance, Thetford has always hitherto been written ÐETF, &c., but now it becomes TETEF, &c. This is the last type on which we shall find IE used for Æ, as in IELFPINE for ÆELFPINE; in fact, after this diphthongs rarely appear.

It is very unfortunate that we have so incomplete an account of the Shillington, Bedfordshire, hoard of 1871, but the late Mr. Allen, who contributed the few particulars we have of it (*Num. Chron.* N.S. xi., 227), was only able to inspect "a few of these coins." Of those he saw, "the most numerous were of William II, Hawkins type 250; there were others of the Williams of 244 and 246, and one of the 'PAXS' type." Of Henry I he says: "there were scattered amongst the mass a few imperfectly struck coins, all with one exception of type 252." There was evidently one other type at least of the reign, and therefore it would not be safe to infer that all the three previously described types were not represented in it, the more so as it would seem that the few coins seen by Mr. Allen were only "perhaps a third" of some secured by a Mr. Weston, for "the bulk went elsewhere."

The coins we have of this type are, with few exceptions, of decidedly base metal, and when we compare them with the standard coins of the two Williams, we can well understand the necessity for Henry's proclamation of 1108, viz:—

"Henry, King of the English, for the purpose of protection, enacted a law, that if any one should be detected in the act of theft or larceny he should be hanged. He also enacted that debased and false coins should be guarded against with such strictness, that whoever should be detected coining base money should lose his eyes and suffer mutilation, without any ransom; and, inasmuch as very frequently, while pennies were being

selected (*'eligebantur'*) they were *bent or broken* and then rejected, he ordered that no penny or half-penny (obol), which he also ordered to be made of a round form, or even farthing, if it were round (*integer*—perfect, *i.e.*, round, as opposed to a cut coin), “should be rejected. From this provision much good resulted to the whole Kingdom, because the King thus exerted himself in secular matters to relieve the troubles of the land.”—(Hoveden, cf. Florence of Worcester and S. of Durham.)

The reference to the money being bent or broken as a test of the quality during circulation, connects this passage with one in William of Malmesbury inserted under his description of the character of Henry I, which has hitherto been deemed incomprehensible. It is :—

“When he heard that broken money, although of good silver, was not accepted by the Merchants, he ordered that all should be broken (*'frangi'*) or snicked (*'incidi'*).”

To order the coin to be broken would, of course, be ridiculous, but “*frangi vel incidi*” may also mean “bent or snicked,” and if collectors will refer to their coins of this type they will discover that all, or nearly all—for Sir John Evans has an exception—have a curious little cut or *snick* through the edge, extending from an eighth to a quarter of an inch into the coin, the edges being generally *bent* so as to show the quality of metal. This is without doubt the explanation of the passage. No previous English type shows anything of the kind, although a somewhat similar test was known to the Greeks, from whom perhaps the “learned” Henry borrowed the idea. But it is introduced now, and is found in most of the coins of the eight succeeding types until the great Inquisition of the Moneyers in 1125, when it became no longer necessary owing to the great improvement in the coinage. On the other hand, as the snick does not occur on any of the three preceding types of this reign, it is an additional

factor in determining the order of succession, for they must have preceded its invention.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence has the coin engraved, *Ruding, Sup., ii., ii., 3*, but the engraving is altogether wrong. It should be—



Fig. E.

Obv.—✠ hENRI REX.

The ordinary obverse of this type.

Rev.—✠ RA ON EBO.

Of the usual type, but the sides of the pyramids are drawn together into parallel lines, and there are traces of a possible annulet within one of the convex curves. See under "York." Sir John Evans calls attention to the fact that this coin is correctly engraved in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1800, p. 817.

Another, with a similar reverse design, so far as the parallel lines are concerned, is in the British Museum.

TYPE V.

1108—1110.



Fig. F.

HAWKINS, 256.

Examples also illustrated.—Ruding, i., 14 ; Snelling, i., 20 ; Withy and Ryall, ii., 16 ; *Num. Chron.*, x., p. 21, 9, and 1893, xii., 256.

Obv.—Legend. ✠ HENRI REX.

Crowned bust in profile to left ; before, a sceptre ; within an inner circle springing from the shoulders.

Rev.—Cross potent, pierced ; an annulet in each angle ; all within an inner circle. [Pl. III., Nos. 4—6.]

Mints—4.

Southwark
Thetford

Winchester
York (?)

The coin queried by Hawkins to Canterbury is of Thetford.

Henry is in England for about fifteen months between 1108 and 1110.

Number of specimens noted.—6, but representing, perhaps, only 5 coins.

Finds.—None recorded.

Weight and quality.—19 to 20 grains of good silver.

Form of letters.—The diphthong I E for Æ has now disappeared, otherwise the lettering is precisely as the last. The colons usually separate the words of the reverse legend (only), and on Fig. F are represented by three pellets.

This is the latest type upon which the obverse legend ✠ HENRI REX alone appears. After the proclamation of 1108, one would naturally expect the immediate issue of a profile type such as this is, for a fresh coinage was obviously required, and there is a marked improvement in the quality of the silver (see page 35). From 1108

to 1120 Henry and his Barons, the grantees of the minor mints, were almost continuously resident in Normandy, and therefore during that period we have but few coins issued from the chartered mints.

Varieties.—None.

TYPE VI.

1110—1112.



Fig. G.

HAWKINS, 257.

Examples also illustrated.—Ruding, *Sup.*, i., i., 8, and *Sup.*, ii., ii., 4; Snelling, i., 21; Speed's *Chronicle*, 1611, p. 434; *Num. Chron.*, 1893, xii., 257.

<i>Obv.</i> —Legend.	✠ hENRI REX	✠ hENRIE REX
	✠ hENRI REE	✠ hENRIE REX
		✠ hENRIE RE:
		✠ hENRIE RE

Crowned bust facing, sceptre to left; no inner circle.
Or, of neater work, within an inner circle springing from the shoulders. Sometimes a small annulet upon the left shoulder.

Rev.—A large quatrefoil ornamented with a pellet at each angle; annulet in the centre and within each foil. All within an inner circle. [Pl. III., Nos. 7—10.]

Mints—5.

Lincoln
London

Norwich
Southwark

Winchester

Hawkins gives York, but was misled by the engraving in Ruding, cf. Mr. L. A. Lawrence's coin, Fig. E.

Henry is in England for about ten months, between 1110 and 1112.

Number of specimens noted.—11, or, allowing for possible duplicate references, say 9; of which, however, 3 are in the Bari Museum, Italy. Varieties 1.

Finds.—Bari, Italy. Wallsop, near Salisbury.

Weight and quality.— $20\frac{1}{2}$ grains of fine silver.

Form of letters.—As the last, except that the N is sometimes retrograde *N*, and letters are often in monogram.

The colons now (with the exception of one or perhaps two instances in the two previous types) first appear in the *obverse* legend.

With this type commences the transition period from ✠HENRI REX to the subsequently more popular ✠HENRIE REX, of which latter form there have been no previous examples, but ✠HENRI REX is still continued on a few of the coins of nearly every type until the year 1125.

Also upon this type is introduced the custom of placing occasional ornaments in the field of the obverse, as, for instance, on some of the coins a small annulet over the left, and a rosette of pellets, or knot, over the right shoulder.

Sir John Evans discovered three of these coins in the Bari Museum, Italy, in which neighbourhood they had been found with several of the next type, 267, and so under that heading the find will be commented upon.

Variety—(A) Sheriff Mackenzie, of Sutherland, N.B., has a unique "mule" of obverse of this type and reverse of the next, 267. (See Fig. H.)



Fig. H.

Obv.—✠ HENRI REX.

Similar to the second described class of this type.
Comp. Snelling, i., 21; Ruding, Sup., i., i., 8.

Rev.—✠ PVLFPINE ON LVN.

Cross potent voided and pierced; in each angle a trefoil inwards, springing from an inner circle, as the next type, 267.

If it should be preferred that this is a variety, without the star, of the next type, 267, similar to **Pl. IV., No. 4**, then the coin engraved in Speed, Snelling, and Ruding, must take its place as the “mule” connecting the two types, for its obverse is similar to Fig. H, but its reverse is clearly of this type.

TYPE VII.

1112—1114.



Fig. I.

HAWKINS, 267.

Examples also illustrated.—Ruding, Sup., ii., i., 6; *Num. Chron.*, 1893, xii., 267.

Obv.—Legend. ✠ hENRI REX ✠ hENRIE REX
 ✠ hENRIE REX ✠ hENRICVS REX

Crowned bust facing, sceptre surmounted by a cross to left; usually a star in the field to right; three small annulets on the points of the crown, and sometimes two above and one on either side of it; all within an inner circle springing from the shoulders.

Rev.—Cross potent voided and pierced; in each angle a trefoil inwards, springing from an inner circle. Sometimes the stalk of the trefoil is represented by a loop. [Pl. IV., Nos. 1—4.]

Mints—11.

Canterbury	Norwich	Wareham or
Chichester	Sudbury	Warwick
Exeter	Thetford	Wilton
London	Wallingford	Winchester

The coin queried by Hawkins to Bedford is here assigned to Thetford.

Henry is in England for about twelve months between 1112 and 1114.

Number of specimens noted.—29, of which, however, 22 are in the Bari Museum, Italy. Varieties 4.

Finds.—Bari, Italy.

Weight and quality.—Some $21\frac{1}{4}$ grains of fine silver, and others 17 of base metal.

Form of letters.—As the last, but the letters are rarely in monogram. Colons are now plentiful on obverse and reverse. On one coin, that of “RAVFVS” of London, the custom of Latinizing the moneyer’s name is introduced (although a single instance of this had already occurred on type 253).

We have ample evidence that this type was next in succession to 257, for, in addition to Sheriff Mackenzie’s

interesting "mule" connecting the two types, we have the important discovery by Sir John Evans of three specimens of type 257 and twenty-four of this type in the Bari Museum, Italy. He tells us (*Num. Chron.*, 1892, p. 83) that they formed part of a large hoard of Continental coins then recently discovered in that neighbourhood, and that they were the only English types in it. We have therefore the curious fact that these two types alone found their way to Italy together, and so the inference is that they had been exported from England at the same time.

The presence of these English coins in the Bari hoard is interesting. On the 7th of January, 1114, Henry gave his daughter Matilda in marriage to Henry V, Emperor of the Romans. With her he paid a dowry of £45,000, which he had been collecting since 1110 (*Saxon Chronicle*)—the very period of the issue of these two types, 1110-1114—"taking three shillings, as is the custom of the English Kings, from every hide of land throughout England" (*Wendover*). In 1116 the Emperor Henry V invaded Italy, and was for a time encamped on the plains of Bari. Thus, there is little doubt that Sir John examined some of the actual coins paid as the dowry of the Empress Matilda.

This may be termed the second of the ornament types; on the last an occasional annulet, rosette, or knot, was introduced, but now there is a profusion of annulets, and sometimes a star in the field of the obverse. On one or two, also, a quatrefoil is introduced at the end of the obverse legend (*Hawkins' Plates*, 267, and *Num. Chron.*, 1893, xii, 267). There is some variation, too, in the form of the sceptre, as will be seen in the varieties described at the end of this type.

The star appears upon some of these coins only, but

others are plain (see Plate IV, No. 4, Ruding, Sup. ii., i, 6, and *Num. Chron.*, 1892, p. 85); thus it was not an essential part of the design. This was the first type engraved after 1110, and in that year the Saxon Chronicle tells us :

“ In the month of June there appeared a star in the north-east, and its light stood before it to the south-west, and it was seen thus for many nights, and ever as the night advanced it mounted upwards and was seen going off to the north-east.”

There is only one other type in the English series upon which an occasional star appears on some of its coins and not on the others. It is 248 of Rufus, and if the position assigned to this type by Hawkins, viz., the last but one of his reign, is correct, the years of its issue would include 1097. Under that year the Saxon Chronicle records, in almost identical language :

“ Then at Michaelmas, on the 4th before the Nones of October, an uncommon star appeared shining in the evening and soon going down ; it was seen in the south-west, and the light which streamed from it seemed very long shining towards the south-east, and it appeared after this manner nearly all the week.”

There is nothing improbable in connecting the appearance of a comet and the representation of it upon the coinage. It occurs on Roman coins with the head of Julius Cæsar, and when we remember how the great comet of 1066 was believed to have foreshadowed the conquest of England, how another appeared before the victory of Tinchebrai, and how great were the superstitions always attached to astronomical phenomena in mediæval times, we can well understand the popularity of the star as a favourite ornament on the coinage and seals of the Norman kings, although it never appears on the Saxon coinage. Take an example from later times. On the morn of Edward IV's first victory, that of Mortimer's Cross, three suns appeared by refraction in the heavens. These he

forthwith adopted as his badge, and when he came to the throne the sun thus became the commonest mint-mark upon his coins.

Varieties—(A) The “mule” of obverse 257 and reverse of this type has already been described under the last.

(B) Mr. L. A. Lawrence has a coin of this type of London upon which the sceptre is surmounted by a quatrefoil instead of a cross. **Pl. IV. No. 1.**

(C) Sir John Evans has one without the star in the field, upon which the shaft of the ordinary sceptre is floriated, and on the reverse the usual trefoils in the angles of the cross have almost developed into quatrefoils, as Ruding, *Sup.*, ii., 1, 6 (now in the Hunterian Museum). **Pl. IV. No. 4.**

(D) The London coin in the British Museum illustrated in Hawkins 267, and *Num. Chron.*, 1893, xii., 267, has a quatrefoil at the end of the obverse legend.

(E) Messrs. Spink recently possessed the well-known “mule” of obverse of this type and reverse of the next, 266. (See Fig. J.)



Fig. J.

Obv.—✠HENRIE : REX.

The ordinary obverse of this type—with the star, and the shaft of the sceptre floriated as on Sir John Evans' variety.

Rev.—✠SPERHAVOT : ON : PAR.

Cross potent ; in each angle, springing from the centre, a sceptre surmounted by a quatrefoil ; between the quatrefoils and the arms of the cross, a small star. All within an inner circle duplicated. As the next type, 266.

TYPE VIII.

1114 — 1116.



Fig. K.

HAWKINS, 266.

Examples also illustrated.—Ruding, ii., 7, and Sup. i., 13 ; Snelling, i., 16 and 17 ; Withy and Ryall, ii., 4 and 6 ; *Num. Chron.*, 1893, xii., 266.

Obv.—Legend. ✠ hENRI REX ✠ hENRIE REX
✠ hENRI RE

Three-quarter bust to right, crowned with a diadem surmounted by three small fleurs or crosses. Sceptre fleury in the *King's* right hand, directed over his shoulder. Before the bust, to the right of the coin, the *King's* left hand pointing ; above it, three stars, or roses, in the field, or two, in one instance three, in the field and one at the end of the legend (see Fig. L and Pl. IV., No. 6). No inner circle.

Rev.—Cross potent, in each angle, springing from the centre a sceptre surmounted by a quatrefoil ; between the quatrefoils and the arms of the cross, a small star. All within an inner circle, generally duplicated. [Pl. IV., Nos. 5—8.]



Fig. L.

Mints—7.

Canterbury
Chichester
London

Southwark
Thetford

Wareham or
Warwick
Winchester

Henry is in England for about ten months between 1114 and 1116.

Number of specimens noted.—10. Varieties.—1.

Finds.—None recorded

Weight and quality.—17—20 $\frac{1}{4}$ grains, one or two fine silver, the rest base.

Form of letters.—Exactly as the last, except that monograms and the reversed \mathfrak{N} are discontinued, and the round ϵ is now introduced on one specimen. (Pl. IV., No. 7.) There are two instances of Latinized moneyers' names.

Hawkins is not as accurate as usual in his description of this type, viz. :—

“ *Rev.*—Cross potent over a cross fleury, a pellet, lozenge, or star in each angle. . . . The variety engraved in Rud., Sup., i., 13, was Mr. White's, and is not to be depended upon. Snelling, i., 16 is most likely from the same coin.”

Although the small stars are nearly obliterated on Figs. J and K, no coin with a cross fleury or pellets or lozenges on the reverse, has passed under observation during the collection of these notes, and the error has arisen because Ruding, ii. 7, and Snelling, i. 17, the authorities quoted by Hawkins, are incorrectly engraved in these respects from the coin now in the Hunter Collection, Glasgow University (Pl. IV., No. 7). His own engraving 266 also will be seen to be inaccurate if compared with the

photographic illustrations of the same coin in *Num. Chron.*, 1893, xii. 266, and **Pl. IV., No. 8.**

On the other hand, the coin engraved in Ruding, Sup., i. 13, and Snelling, i. 16, which Hawkins doubts as a variety, is really of the true type, for both illustrations are poor copies of the engraving in Withy and Ryall, ii. 4, which, so far as the reverse is concerned, is a very excellent illustration of the type. The coin it represents is said to have been found "in the centre of a piece of the ruined wall part of the Abbey of Reading." Reading Abbey was founded in 1121; so this type would then be plentiful.

It is curious how fashion influences the ornaments in the designs of a coinage. In the last type an occasional star appeared; now stars are part of the standard device. Similarly on one or two of the former coins a quatrefoil was introduced; now it is a favourite ornament, and will appear on three out of the four following types; again, one specimen of the last type has an extra quatrefoil at the end of the obverse legend, now two coins have an additional star in that position.

That this type, which is one of the most artistic of the Norman series, follows 267, is shown by the mule coin connecting the two described under that heading; also its general character is that of succession. It could not have preceded it because of the connecting links between 257 and 267.

Variety.—(A) The "mule" coin, Fig. J, given under 267.

TYPE IX.

1116—1119.



Fig. M.

HAWKINS, 264.

Examples also illustrated.—Ruding, *Sup.*, i., 12; Snelling, i., 19; Withy and Ryall, ii., 14; *Num. Chron.*, x., p. 21, 10, and 1893, xii., 264.

Obv.—Legend. ✠ hENRIEVS RE : ✠ hENRIEVS :
✠ hENRIEVS R :

Crowned bust in profile to left; in the field before the face, a rose composed of a centre pellet with several smaller ones surrounding it. All within an inner circle broken at the crown. The legend commencing to the right of the crown instead of, as has hitherto been the invariable rule, on the left side of the coin.

Rev.—Cross potent, pierced, or with an annulet, in the centre; an annulet, enclosing a pellet, in each angle. All within an inner circle. [Pl. 4., Nos. 9—11.]

Mints—9.

Canterbury	Lincoln	Stamford
Chichester	London	Thetford
Lewes	Southwark	Wallingford

Henry was not in England during the issue of this type, *i.e.* Michaelmas, 1116-1119.

Number of specimens noted.—12.

Finds.—None recorded.

Weight and quality.— $18\frac{1}{2}$ — $19\frac{1}{4}$ grains, variable from fine silver to very base.

Form of letters.—As the last. The Latinized moneyer's name continues.

That this is a much later type than 256, which so nearly resembles it, is shown by the neater form of lettering, by its highly ornamented workmanship and the rare absence of a sceptre, as upon the next type but one, by the complete use of the colons on both obverse and reverse, by the association of its moneyers' names with those on the immediately preceding and succeeding types, and lastly, by the first appearance upon it of the curious form NIEOL for the name of Lincoln, which will presently become common. From the year 1110 to that of 1125 we have a complete series of types, all successively linked together by the so-called "mule" coins, with the exception of a connecting link between 266 and 263. So, if the mule coins are to be relied upon, and stronger evidence could not be desired, this type must either follow here, between 266 and 263, or be placed before 1110 or after 1125. But this type, with all those issued between 1108 and 1125, bears the "snick" described under 252, so must be subsequent to 1108, and it is certainly later than 1110. To place it after 1125 is impossible, for we have no debased coins during the remainder of the reign after the great Inquisition of the Moneyers of that date, nor is there room amongst the types for it. The explanation of the difference in the obverse legend, and the interpolation of a plain type amongst what may be termed the five quatrefoil types, is probably that given in Chapter V, viz., the necessity for a complete distinction between the profile coins and the usual front-faced ones. In relation to

this it may be noticed that there is much similarity between most of the *profile* types of this reign, and in fact of the whole Norman series. Moreover, in the natural order, a profile type ought to come now, for we have had three consecutive front-faced ones. The rose, instead of a sceptre, upon it stamps it as one of the ornament series, and a rose appears on the previous and the succeeding types.

Rare as this type is to us, the proportion of nine mints out of twelve coins suggests a longer period of issue or currency than usual, for, as the gathering ground of a find was always fixed, the fact of so many mints being represented in a dozen specimens collected haphazard at the date of deposit, shows that they must have had ample time to become thoroughly mixed in circulation, or otherwise the local mints, wherever the find or finds of these coins occurred, would have predominated.

Varieties.—None.

TYPE X.

1119—1121.



Fig. N.

HAWKINS, 263.

Examples also illustrated.—Ruding, Sup., i., 10, and ii., i., 7; Snelling, i., 18; *Num. Chron.*, 1893, xii., 263.

Obv.—Legend.

✠ hENRI REX
✠ hENRI RE

✠ hENRIE REX
✠ hENRIE : RE

Crowned bust facing, annulets on the points of the crown; sceptre fleury, surmounted by a quatrefoil, to left; in the field to right, a star, or rose, above, and quatrefoil below. No inner circle.

Rev.—A large quatrefoil enclosing a cross potent, each foil surmounted by an annulet; an annulet at each angle inwards, and a quatrefoil in each spandrel. All within an inner circle. [Pl. V., Nos. 1—5.]

Mints—5.

Chester	London	Winchester
Lincoln	St. Edmundsbury	

The coin assigned by Hawkins to Sandwich is given to St. Edmundsbury.

Henry is in England for about nine months between 1119 and 1121.

Number of specimens noted.—12, representing, perhaps, 10 coins. Varieties 1.

Finds.—None recorded.

Weight and quality.—18-19 grains, base.

Form of letters.—As the last.

The centre portion of the reverse design of this type is almost identical with the design of the last, and if, as seems to be intended, a rose is one of the ornaments on the obverse of some of these coins—for it is difficult to distinguish a star from a rose—we have a close similarity between the two types.

It is suggested that the death of Otho Fitz Otto occurred at this time, for after this type there is a complete change of style in the coinage, and the legend ✠HENRIC REX alone does not again appear. The custom, too, of filling all available space with small ornaments is, after this type, discontinued, and the sceptre flory will in future be the only one used.

The engraving, Ruding, Sup., i., 10, and Snelling, i., 18 (of the same coin, now in the British Museum), reading +AL ON LVNDO, does not give the star on the obverse; but this, however, is an error owing to indistinctness of the original, and the pellets opposite the ends of the arms of the cross on the reverse as shown on the engravings do not exist. [See Pl. V., No. 4.]

Variety—(A) In the Hunter Museum, Glasgow University, is the following unique “mule” specimen:—



Fig. O.

Obv.—✠HENRIC REX. The ordinary obverse of this type.

Rev.—✠ELFPINE ON GLOP: Gloucester.

Cross flory within an inner circle. As the next, Hawkins type, IV.

TYPE XI.

1121—1123.



Fig. P.

HAWKINS, TYPE IV.

Examples illustrated.—Ruding, Sup., i., 6, and Sup. ii., ii., 6 (*Num. Chron.*, 1881, iii., 2, and 1893, xi., 5 (obverse), xii., T. 4 (reverse). [In arranging the last-mentioned plates the two obverses were accidentally transposed.]

Obv.—Legend.

✠hENRI REX ANGL	✠hENRIE REX
✠hENRI REX AN	✠hENRIEVS REX: AN
✠hENRI REX A	✠hENRIEVS REX A
✠hENC REX A	✠hENRIEVS REX
✠hENRIE REX AN	✠hENRIEVS R

Crowned bust facing; the crown almost plain, with a label usually ending in a small annulet at either side. All within an inner circle. The legend commencing over the crown.

Rev.—Cross flory within an inner circle. Rarely a pellet in each angle of the cross and sometimes an annulet or pellet in the centre. [Pl. V., Nos. 6—12.]

Mints—15.

Bristol	Hastings	St. Edmundsbury
Canterbury	Lincoln	Southampton
Chester	London	Southwark
Chichester	Norwich	Thetford
Gloucester	Nottingham	Worcester

The coin given by Hawkins to Leicester is here assigned to Chester.

Henry is in England for about twenty months between 1121 and 1123.

Number of specimens noted.—29, representing, perhaps, 25 coins, and including 4 varieties.

Finds.—Battle and Nottingham.

Average weight and quality.—17-21½ grains, base metal, one or two only fine silver.

Form of letters.—The round C and M are introduced on these coins, but the reversed N is also used on others. Otherwise as before.

Although this is still one of the “quatrefoil” series (as will appear from a variety), it is of very different workmanship from the previous examples, and the introduc-

tion of a complete inner circle on the obverse is an instance which had not occurred for some fifty years—probably before the first Otto was appointed to office;—in fact, this type is the commencement of a short-lived but rapid deterioration in the coinage in every respect. For ten years Henry had spent little of his time in England, and the coinage had become more and more debased, until in this, and the four previous types, it is the exception to find a coin of apparently anything like standard silver. It will be noticed that the obverse legend bears a striking similarity to Henry's first type, 251; and, like it, shows much variety, and some blundering. This is accounted for by the supposition that, Otho Fitz Otto being dead, a new hand commences the sinking of the dies, and as Otto the elder was, on Henry's accession, at first uncertain in his legends, owing to the introduction of a new name and title, so this engraver was uncertain and variable in the work of his first type. Possibly he was the *Leostanus aurifaber* of London mentioned in the Cnihtengild charter of 1125 (see *Commune of London*, p. 106).

That this type clearly follows 263 is quite evident from the "mule" specimen (Fig. O) described under the previous type, connecting both, and that it immediately precedes the next, 258, will be similarly shown under that heading. (Fig. S.) The appearance of the occasional round C and M on this type, coupled with the E on type 266 and the reversed N throughout, discloses the gradual introduction of Norman influences upon our coinage, until upon some of the remarkable pieces of the next reign we have very nearly a complete Gallic alphabet. These letters tend to place this type comparatively late in the list—or at least later than those previously described. The Nottingham and Battle finds also corroborate this, for both

contained this type and only coins (with an odd exception of type 251) issued later in the reign, or in that of Stephen (see page 79).

The increased number of mints of this type is explained by the return of Henry and most of his barons to England in November, 1120, where he and they stayed until 1123. So the chartered mints again appear in a larger proportion.

Varieties—(A) The “mule” obverse of the last, 263, and reverse of this type described under the former heading (see Fig. O).

(B) The coin engraved, Ruding, Sup., ii., 2, 6, purchased by Messrs. Spink at the Montagu Sale, having a quatrefoil to the right of the King's head. See Hastings and, as to another, probably similar, London. Compare also the Worcester coin. [Pl. V., No. 7.]

(C) A “mule” in the Hunter Museum, obverse of the next type, 258, and reverse of this, described under the next type (see Fig. S).

(D) Mr. F. G. Lawrence had a unique coin, unfortunately broken, which, *if complete*, would be as follows :—



Fig. Q.

Obv.—As this type, with the labels terminating in annulets exactly as upon an ordinary obverse.

Rev.—Cross moline, voided, upon a square with a small annulet at each corner. All within an inner circle. Instead of an outer circle enclosing the legend, a large quatrefoil terminating at each angle in a complete fleur-de-lis inwards, a small annulet in each spandrel. Legends blank. Metal very base.

The reverse is that of a distinct type, but standing alone as the coin at present does, it is impossible to decide whether it is a mule of this type with a reverse of some obverse die hitherto undiscovered, or whether, as seems more probable, it is a trial piece of a reverse design intended for the next type, but used with this obverse for convenience of striking, as its own obverse die might not then have been in existence.

Assuming the latter hypothesis, we have a rather simple explanation of the remarkable double circle for the reverse legend. It will be obvious that upon this coin the large fleurs-de-lis occupy at least one-third of the space usually available for the reverse legend, and so in practice it was at once found impossible to place the complete reverse legend upon it. Hence the die was not adopted, but the designer was determined to bring the legend space into play in the design and divide it with ornaments into similar sections. So to enable him to do this he was obliged to continue the legend in a second and inner circle, as will be described under the next type. The fact that there are no letters legible on the reverse of this coin may support the theory that it was merely a trial of the design and that therefore a legend was never cut.

The last type of the reign (255) is a fairly close imitation of the centre portion of this reverse variety, and no doubt the design of both is merely varied from that of Hawkins 238 of William I.

TYPE XII.

1123—1125 (Christmas).



Fig. R.

HAWKINS, 258.

Examples also illustrated.—Ruding, *Sup.* ii., i. 3, and ii. Nos. 12, 13, and 14; Withy and Ryall, ii., 15; *Num. Chron.*, 1893, xii., 258.

Obv.—Legend. hENR hENRI hENRE

Large crowned bust in profile to left; before, a sceptre fleury, sometimes surmounted by an annulet. No inner circle. The King's right hand, which is very large in proportion (as the left is on 266), is brought before the bust to hold the sceptre. Sometimes ornaments of one, or usually two, quatrefoils before the sceptre, or before the face, or five small annulets before the face.

Rev.—Small cross within two concentric spaces for the legend, the inner containing the name of the mint and the outer that of the moneyer; the word ON being usually divided between the two, but sometimes in one or the other. In the outer space are four equidistant annulets enclosing quatrefoils. Scarcely two coins of this type are alike, and so a description of each will be given under its mint. [Pl. VI., Nos. 1—9, and see Pl. VIII.]

Mints—6.

Canterbury	Lincoln	Norwich
Hastings	London	Southwark

Henry is not in England during the issue of this type
—Michaelmas, 1123, to Christmas, 1125.

Number of specimens noted.—14, including two varieties and a cut halfpenny.

Finds.—Battle and Wallsop (near Salisbury).

Weight and quality.— $20\frac{1}{2}$, and the halfpenny, 9·2 grains. The most debased type of the reign.

Form of letters.—The letters do not show any peculiarities, but are small and neat. This is the only type in the Norman regal series on which the initial cross to the obverse legend is dispensed with. The annulets enclosing quatrefoils, or the cross com-

mencing the inner legend, sometimes supersede the colons upon the reverse, although they are still used in several instances. The old H given in Ruding, Sup., ii., ii., 13, is an engraver's error for the usual, though indistinct H upon the coin. [See **Pl. VI., No. 3.**]

This is the most interesting type of the reign, and the design of the two concentric legends was no doubt the prototype of that of the later groat, the first example of which, in Edward I's reign, not only bore a large quatrefoil on the obverse, but had the outer legend of the reverse similarly broken up by large floriated terminations to the arms of the cross. Therefore we may infer from its subsequent popularity that, but for the great Inquisition of the Moneyers, which so tragically suppressed this issue, the idea of the two circles would not have disappeared so suddenly from all designs of the pennies.

This type is not only the last of the ornament coins, but also that of the "snicked" series as described under 252, page 55. On the other hand, it is the first since that type of which we find the cut halfpenny. (**Pl. VI., No. 9.**) The coins are unfortunately wretchedly struck, and most of them are more or less broken or cracked. This latter fact is probably owing to their debasement, and the consequent custom of the merchants, referred to under type 252, page 55, of breaking them in testing their quality—a custom, by the way, not yet quite obsolete. That this type followed the last, Hawkins, IV, is practically proved by the "mule," presently described under the varieties, connecting the two, but there are other indications of their close relationship. The name of Lincoln appears on both, and only on these two types, as **LIOLEN**, and

five of the nine moneyers whose names are decipherable upon this type are common to both.

In *Num. Chron.*, N.S. xiii, 175, Mr. Churchill Babington contributed an account of twelve coins, examined by him from the Battle find of 1860 (?), two of which were of these two types, and the remainder of the last and commonest of the reign, 255.

As an example of this type also appeared in the Wallstop find, it was evidently a comparatively late one of the reign, for that find was deposited in Stephen's reign, and, so far as the nine specimens from it are concerned, which happened to have been engraved in Ruding, Sup., ii., plate 2, this type was the earliest in the find, the one other of Henry's reign being his last type but one, 262. But as the next type, 265, and the last, 255, had already been engraved in that work, and were well known, it is more than probable they were also represented in the find, though not engraved. This would give a sequence of all the four types from now to Henry's death. Still, too much reliance should not be placed upon the appearance of a single example in any hoard.

These uncouth and debased coins are, undoubtedly, by far the worst of the whole Norman series, and when we compare them with the neat round and standard coinage of the two Williams, we are not surprised that Henry should at last take drastic measures once and for all to put an end to the system of gradual but increasing debasement which had been progressing during the last four types, until in this it has reached its climax. Even his prohibition of the cut halfpenny of 1108 is now ignored, and it is significant of the theory suggested in Chapter I., page 11, that its reappearance should occur coincidently with an epoch of extreme debasement.

No wonder, therefore, that the Saxon chronicler bitterly complains that :—

“ This year, 1124, the penny was so bad that the man who had a pound at the market would hardly, for anything, pass twelve of these pennies.”

In other words, out of 240 pennies only some 12 would be accepted at their nominal value. Under the next year, 1125, the same authority tells us :—

“ Before Christmas this year, King Henry sent from Normandy to England, and commanded that all the moneyers of England should be deprived of their limbs, namely of their right hands, and be otherwise mutilated. And this because a man might have a pound, and yet not be able to spend one penny at a market. And Roger, Bishop of Salisbury [as Chief Justiciary], sent over all England and summoned all of them to come to Winchester at Christmas ; and when they came thither his men took them, one by one, and cut off their right hands. All this was done within the twelve days, and with much justice, because they had ruined this land with the great quantity of bad metal which they all bought.”

Very similar passages occur in Wendover, Florence, Annals of Winchester, and of St. Edmundsbury, Waverley and Margan, Wikes, Simeon of Durham, Ralph de Dicet, and Fordun. The majority of these authorities too fix the date as 1125, not 1124 as the Saxon Chronicle, which commences its years at Christmas, rather suggests. William Gemmeticensis adds that :—

“ the money was so debased with tin that scarcely one-third part was silver ; and Henry was informed of it by his soldiers in Normandy, who found they could not purchase so much with their pay as they had done theretofore when the money was made of silver.”

In the multitude of chroniclers there is safety ; and we, therefore, know that the adulteration of the coinage had been brought to such a pass that this great Inquisition

of the Moneyers was held at Christmas 1125-6, and that wholesale punishment fell upon the moneyers. But to mutilate "all the moneyers of England" would have been a blow to the system of coinage from which it would never have recovered, so a qualification of the above account must be borrowed from Florence and Wikes, who tell us that, though all were summoned, those "taken with counterfeit money," that is convicted, only were punished. The Annals of Margan are more explicit, and tell us that the number was 94.

So far as the eleven moneyers whose names appear upon our coins of this type are concerned, six or seven continue to coin subsequently, more by good fortune than desert, one would say, and, therefore, only four or five stop, perhaps tragically, now. Hence "all the moneyers" could not have been punished, for, after conviction, a moneyer would never again be allowed to assume office, even if physically competent to do so.

During the whole period of the issue of this type, Henry and his barons were engaged in suppressing the revolt in Normandy, and, therefore, nearly all of the grantees of the private mints would be abroad with him. Hence these mints would be dormant, and if all the moneyers then coining in England had been punished, there would not have been so very many of them.

As this was the issue of a profile type it was probably intended to now limit the legal currency to it and the two types issued since 264, but the Inquisition of the Moneyers led to an immediate and entire change in the tender. This was accomplished by the succession of a second profile type, which would at once call in this one, and, therefore, as its currency was limited to the period only of its issue, 258 must necessarily remain a scarce

coin in our cabinets, for, apart from other reasons, it thus had only an authorized currency of about fifteen months, and there would be little opportunity for the deposit of many hoards of it to await the accident of discovery.

Varieties.—(A) The Hunter Museum, Glasgow University, has a unique “mule” obverse of this type and reverse of the last, namely:—



Fig. 8.

Obv.—h The ordinary obverse of this type, with one, probably two, quatrefoils before the sceptre.

Rev.—BVREHART: O Cross flory, with the annulet in the centre. As the previous type, Hawkins IV.

(B) Mr. L. A. Lawrence has a unique variety, on which the usual position of the moneyer's name and of that of the mint is transposed, and which bears also other slight deviations from the ordinary type, namely:—



Fig. 9.

Obv.—hENR . The ordinary obverse of this type, with two quatrefoils before the sceptre; a small annulet sur-

mounting the sceptre and another upon the outline of the nose as on **Pl. VI., No. 3**, but not shown on **Fig. T**.

Rev.—✠BLAEMN : ON LV(N)DE. Of this type, but the moneyer's name ✠BLAEMN is in the inner space, and the remainder of the legend in the outer. See under London.

NOTE.—Mr. Hawkins' engraving, 258, does not show the small cross in the centre of the reverse, but this is owing to a small piece having been broken out of the coin, for there are still some indications remaining of its original impression. [**Pl. VI., No. 4.**]

TYPE XIII.

1126 (January)—1128 (Michaelmas).



Fig. U.

HAWKINS, 265.

Examples also illustrated.—Ruding, ii., 5; Snelling, i., 22; Withy and Ryall, ii., 17, 18, 19, 20, and 21. Vertue's plates (*circa* 1738), for the portrait of Henry I. *Num. Chron.*, N. S. xx., xi., 18; 1893, xii., 265; Montagu Catalogue, 298.

Obv.—Legend. ✠hENRIEVS ✠hENRIEVS : R :
✠hENRIEVS RE :

Crowned bust in profile to left; before, a sceptre, the King's right hand being brought before the bust to hold the sceptre, as on the last type; within an inner circle springing from the shoulders.

Rev.—Tressure of four slightly concave sides terminating at each angle in a fleur-de-lis, and enclosing a star; an

ornament composed of three small annulets usually, but not always, joined together opposite each side of the tressure. All within an inner circle. [Pls. VI., 10—11, and VII., 1—3.]

Mints—22.

Barnstaple	London	Sudbury
Bath	Northampton	Tamworth
Bedford	Norwich	Thetford
Bristol	Nottingham	Wallingford
Canterbury	St. Edmundsbury	Warwick
Colchester	Southampton	Winchester
Dorchester	Stamford	Worcester
Lincoln		

Henry is in England for about twenty-four months between January, 1126, and Michaelmas, 1128.

Number of specimens noted.—73, but allowing for possible duplicate references, and, say, half the Wallingford coins—many of which are false—perhaps 55. There are also several cut halfpennies.

Finds.—None recorded, although this type is believed to have appeared in the Milford Haven hoard, referred to under the next type.

Average weight and quality.—Full weight, and of standard silver.

Form of letters.—The lettering makes a decided advance in its modernisation under this type. Although the Ð still occasionally appears, Th is now for the first time used in its place. W, upon a doubtful authority, however, is said in one instance to supersede the hitherto invariable Saxon P. The use of the colons, on the reverse, at least, is almost universal, and letters are rarely joined in monogram. On the reverse of a Southampton coin, the old H once more appears, but as this seems to

be the only instance in the reign after the year 1106, it may be accepted as an accident on the part of the engraver of the die. Latinized moneyers' names are by no means uncommon, and generally the legends are neat and most carefully executed.

"Afterwards," says Florence of Worcester, referring to the great Inquisition of Moneyers of 1125, mentioned under the last type, "by a change in the coinage all articles became very dear, and in consequence a great scarcity ensued, and numbers died of famine." Evidently Florence, or rather his continuator, was not a bi-metallist; but the importance of the passage to us is to show that the coinage was at once restored to the old standard silver. We have seen that the last type, according to William Gemmeticensis, only contained one-third part of silver, and, therefore, probably two, or even three, of the old pennies would have to be exchanged with the moneyers for one of the new, and so it would entail much loss and distress upon the public.

Under the year 1154-5 Wendover recounts the story of the conversion of St. Wulfrie, already more than once referred to here, which he says occurred twenty-nine years before, thus placing it at the commencement of this type, 1126. In it occurs the passage :

"for, at that time, there was a new coinage in England in the days of Henry I, but still rare on account of its recency. Wulfrie replied (to the mendicant) that he did not know whether he had any of the new coinage or not. Upon which the man said, 'Look into your wallet and you will find there two pieces and a half.'"

It will be remembered that the cut half-pennies were only reintroduced in the last type, and we have similar examples of this, and also of the types following, to the close of the reign, and so this important little anecdote

dote corroborates two facts. One, that the issue of this standard type after the base ones which had gone before it, was a change in the coinage of such importance as to be remembered nearly thirty years afterwards; and, two, that the cut half-penny was then again in circulation.

Naturally this change required a second consecutive profile type, and so its issue, according to the rule suggested in Chapter V, p. 36, invalidated the tender of every type issued prior to it, thus compelling everyone to change his coin into the new coinage, and causing such scarcity of money that not only was the event long remembered, but the people suffered the cost of re-establishing the standard, and so "all articles became very dear."

It must be apparent that the hand which designed the last uncouth type never cut this, the most beautiful specimen of workmanship of any reign prior to that of Henry VII at least. But we may assume that the Inquisition and "change in the coinage" necessarily brought about the fate of the designer who, to some extent, was responsible for the late deterioration, and so the incompetent artist of the two previous types would be dismissed. With him disappeared, so far as this reign is concerned, the fashion of ornaments and of irregularity of design, and now, for the future, every die is practically a facsimile of the others of its type so far as the device is concerned.

The Inquisition also seems to have had a beneficial effect upon the moneyers, not only as to the purity of the metal, but in abolishing the issue of "mule" coins, for we find no more during the reign. If the "mules" were mere accidents of using a wrong die, it is curious that they disappear with the Inquisition, but as by so using an old one the moneyer saved his fees for the new die, the accident theory is very doubtful to say the least

of it, and a Pipe Roll entry quoted under Winchester more than strengthens the doubt.

The following passage in the *Dialogue* (circa 1180) seems to define this offence as "false stamping," or to be literal "*in falsa imagine*" = false in the device:—

"*Disciple*: Inasmuch, then, as all money of this Kingdom ought to have the stamped image of the King, and all moneyers are bound to work according to the same weight, how can it happen that all their work is not of one weight ?

"*Master*: That is a great question . . . but it can happen through forgers and clippers or cutters of coin. Thou knowest, moreover, that the money of England can be found false in three ways: false namely in weight, false in quality, false in the stamping. . . But these kinds of falsification are not visited by an equal punishment."—Henderson's *Historical Documents*, cf. Dr. Stubbs' *Select Charters*.

The designer of this type, possibly the *aurifaber* Wyzo Fitz Leostan also mentioned in the Cnihtengild charter of 1125, may be presumed to be the "magister" referred to in the Pipe Roll of 1130, for William Fitz Otho, the hereditary designer, there pays ten silver marks on account of fees amounting to £36 0s. 10d. that he might no longer have a Master over him. This no doubt occurred upon the completion of his apprenticeship and succession to office; therefore, at the date of this issue, 1126, William Fitz Otho would probably be under the directions of a freshly appointed engraver. In the same Roll Wyzo is mentioned as owing half a mark of gold for succession to his father Leofstan's lands and office. This official, whether Wyzo or not, was the only artist from the date of the Conquest to the reign of Henry VII who attempted anything further than a stereotyped representation of an English King. To say that he produced an actual portrait of Henry I would be perhaps to exaggerate, for in 1126 the King was in his 57th year, and the type usually represents a comparatively young man [but a parallel case

is instanced upon our postage stamps of to-day]. Vertue in the first half of the eighteenth century recognised this attempt, for he adopted it as the model for his portrait of Henry I, a portrait which has since become the generally accepted likeness of that monarch. Taking it, therefore, with all qualifications, we may well assume that the bust very accurately represents the King as he was seen with sceptre and robes wearing his crown at the three great feasts of the year in 1126.

On several types of the Confessor his historic beard had been faithfully represented, and the careful observer will notice that this is the first Norman coin which portrays long hair. Moreover, it is gathered together into a sort of queue terminating in a curl or annulet. The head is in profile and, therefore, only shows one such queue, but on Henry's statue at Rochester Cathedral a similar one is shown over each shoulder, and certain ancient chessmen discovered in the Isle of Lewis in 1831, probably of this date, have the King's coiffure represented almost exactly as upon the coin. This fashion of long hair was a recent innovation at the very date of the issue of this type, and Matthew of Westminster tells us that in 1127 "King Henry caused all the soldiers of England to cut their hair a proper length, as previously they vied with women in the length of their hair." Orderic corroborates this custom of the nobility by recounting that William Louvel, to facilitate his escape from the battle of Bourg-Théroutde, in 1124, had his hair cropped "so that he might pass (through the enemies' lines) as a yokel." After Henry's proclamation of 1127 against the fashion we do not again find anything of the kind upon his coins.

It is a common error to describe the design of this and certain types of Stephen and Henry II as "bust in

armour, &c.” The mistake has arisen from the similarity of the decorative pearls upon the mantle to the bosses or rivets of the far later gorget, for studs and bosses were unknown in this form until their necessity arose on the introduction of plate armour in the fourteenth century. The Norman warrior was invariably clad in the long and plain mail hauberk, so accurately represented by the full-length figure of EVSTACIVS upon the coin (Hawkins, 283) photographed in the Montagu Catalogue No. 358.

Henry is in England during nearly the whole period of the issue of this type, hence the large number of its mints.

Varieties.—None; save the trefoil as a mint mark upon the reverse star described under Peterborough and Stamford.

Fortunately Mr. L. A. Lawrence has recently exposed several forgeries of this type, and of a “mule” of it and 255 (*Num. Chron.*, 1899, p. 241). If this latter variety had been accepted as genuine it would have caused endless trouble in arranging the order of this and the last two types of the reign, for 262 most certainly intervenes between 265 and 255.

TYPE XIV.

1128—1131.



Fig. V.

HAWKINS, 262.

Examples also illustrated.—Ruding, Sup., i., 11, ii., 6; Part ii., i., 5 and ii., 7; Snelling, i., 23; Withy and Ryall, ii., 7, 8,

9, 10. Speed's *Chronicle*, 1611, p. 455; *Num. Chron.*, xii., p. 138, 1, 2, and 3; 1893, xii., 262; *Archæologia*, 1822, 540.

Obv.—Legend. ✠ hENRIEVS: ✠ hENRIEVS R
 ✠ hERIEVS ✠ hENRIEVS RE
 ✠ hENRIEVS R: ✠ hENRIEVS REX

Crowned bust facing; sceptre flory (held in the King's right hand) to the left, and a star to the right of the head; suspended from either side of the crown, three pellets. All within an inner circle springing from the shoulders.

Rev.—A large quatrefoil enclosing a star upon a cross of pellets; each foil surmounted by three annulets joined; opposite each spandrel a fleur-de-lis inwards springing from an inner circle enclosing the whole. [Pl. VII., Nos. 4—7.]

The variation mentioned by Hawkins and engraved 262 and Ruding, Sup., ii., 1, 5, of a cross of four pellets instead of the star on the obverse seems to be an engraver's error.

The Bristol coin questioned by him because of its having been White's, and classed as a variety, is now in the Hunter Museum and is of the ordinary type (Ruding, Sup. i., 11). He has not noticed that all well struck coins of this type bear the star on the obverse.

Mints—30.

Bath	Huntingdon	Stamford
Bristol	Ipswich	Sudbury
Canterbury	Leicester	Tamworth
Carlisle	Lincoln	Thetford
Chester	London	Wareham or
Colchester	Northampton	Warwick
Dorchester	Nottingham	Wilton
Durham	St. Edmundsbury	Winchester
Exeter	Salisbury	Worcester
Gloucester	Southwark	York
Hereford		

Hawkins gives Norwich, Romney, and Sandwich, but the coins are here assigned respectively to Northampton, London, and St. Edmundsbury, for reasons detailed under those headings.

Henry is in England for about eighteen months between 1128 and 1131.

Number of specimens noted.—135.

Finds.—Watford and Milford Haven.

Weight and quality.— $19\frac{1}{2}$ to $22\frac{1}{2}$ grains of standard metal.

Form of letters.—As the last type, but not quite so neat. Although the Saxon P is still general, the modern W appears on the coins of several mints. The Ð (unless “BAD” for Bath includes it) has entirely disappeared. On dies bearing the names of two Winchester moneyers, the colons at the end of the reverse legend are varied thus ∴ and on a Gloucester coin ∙ ∙

We have ample evidence that this was the last type but one of the reign. The Watford find of 1818, described by Mr. Rashleigh in *The Numismatic Chronicle* xii., 138, was deposited in Stephen’s time, but contained some 480 pennies and cut half-pennies of Henry I. Of these, 58 were of this type, and the remainder of the next, 255. There were no other types or varieties so far as Henry’s reign was concerned, and as the whole find comprised over eleven hundred coins, these two types must have been the last issued and the only types of his still in general circulation at the date of the deposit. This fact must have escaped attention or no one would have suggested any other date for these coins.

But that is not all ; our oldest public record, with the exception of Domesday, is an “odd volume” of the Great Roll of the Pipe for the year 1130. The Pipe Roll was probably a sequel to Domesday, though perhaps not instituted until early in the reign of Henry I, when he remodelled the Exchequer. It was continued every year

from that event to modern times, but although it is marvelous that we have practically a complete series since the second year of Henry II, this is the only year remaining to us in the interim prior to 1154-5. It contains the accounts rendered to the Exchequer by the various Sheriffs of the Kingdom made up to Michaelmas in every year, and this particular one, therefore, contains the period September 30th, 1129, to September 29th, 1130. As it is not actually dated it was formerly assigned to various years, such as the eighteenth of Henry I, the fifth of Stephen, and the first of Henry II, but since Dr. Hunter in 1833 first correctly attributed it, those who have studied it have found this date to be ascertained beyond question from its internal evidence. As, however, it will be quoted again and again in the following pages, its date is of the greatest importance to this subject, and, therefore, if any doubt should still remain the following perhaps additional proofs may shortly be quoted from the dozens it contains. It refers to the then Bishop of Winchester as having lately been Abbot of Glastonbury—this, therefore, was Henry of Blois, who was appointed in 1129, so the date could not have been earlier than that year. Hence, as it contains entries of the expenses in connection with the visit of Henry's court to Woodstock, it must be for that year, 1129-1130, as Henry only held a Court there twice, viz., in 1123, and at Easter, 1130. From Woodstock he went to Canterbury with Henry of Winchester on May 4th to attend the consecration of the Cathedral, and four days afterwards to Rochester (Huntingdon, Saxon Chronicle, &c.), and the Roll contains an item of 3s. 4d. for the repair of Rochester Bridge "against the coming of the King."

It may be called "a common-place book" of the King-

dom, for it records everything that occurred of a financial character, from the cost of the candles still kept burning over the late Queen Matilda's tomb at Westminster, to the fees of a widow for the privilege of remaining unmarried. But what concerns us most are various entries of fines and forfeits upon the conviction of moneyers for offences against the coinage. These would probably be fines for short weight, as many of our coins of this type are still below the standard. They will be given in detail under the history of the various mints, but with few exceptions the financial portion of the conviction only is recorded, for the corporal punishment concerned the moneyer, not the Exchequer. The actual dates of the convictions, unless they happen to occur in the latter half of the current year, are not given, and we find in the later Rolls that fines were often paid off by instalments extending over three or four years, but the credit for the year and the balance remaining due are all that is entered, so there is nothing to tell us to a year or two in or before 1130, when the conviction occurred, unless it is entered under "Nova Placita."

Now nearly all these unfortunate moneyers thus mentioned in the Roll are men whose names appear upon this type, and the remainder are the issuers of the last, 265. After conviction the moneyer, of course, lost his office, so, with the exception of one or two instances only—explainable no doubt by the trivial character of the offence and, consequently, the infliction of a mere fine, see the extract from the *Dialogue*, p. 87—their names do not appear upon the next and commonest type of the reign, 255. Other moneyers' names also occur in this Roll under pleasanter auspices, such as paying succession duties, &c., and are not only identified on the current,

or on the previous, but also upon the following types, for there was nothing to interrupt their duties. So we have the best of evidence that in 1129-1130 type 265 had recently been issued, 262 was the current type, and 255 was to follow. This perfect identity between the moneyers of the Roll and those of the types surely proves the general theories of this work, namely: (1) That our coins of the reign as a whole are practically a complete representation of the coinage of the time, for otherwise half the moneyers recorded in the Roll would be unknown to us; (2) That the mints by grant did not coin continuously but only under conditions such as those already explained, for otherwise we should find entries in the Roll of some moneyers at least of those mints of which we have no coins of this and the previous type, although we know that they were in subsequent operation, and which, therefore, must have been dormant at the particular period—*e.g.*, Dover, Hastings, Lewes, Oxford, Pevensey, Shaftesbury, Shrewsbury, and Taunton. These two theories are thus checked by an accidental system of double entry upon the coins and in the Roll—independent testimony which until now has lain buried in the earth and in the Record Office for nigh upon eight hundred years.

Unfortunately, the Milford Haven hoard has remained one of the many secrets of Treasure Trove. But some years ago a number of coins of this type, and the previous one 265, said to be from a then recent find, came under examination for these notes, and it is not unlikely that they were a portion at least of it. They were squandered, and are here entered under the names of various owners without reference to the find for lack of evidence to that effect. But a few specimens of this type are so recorded, as they are known to have come from it through a different source.

The fact that the modern "W" now appears on the coins of several mints corroborates the late date assigned to this issue, and this is still further supported by the first use—so far as Henry's reign is concerned—of CESTER for Chester in place of some form of the old name LEIGECEASTER, which now disappears, Cestre or Cester is also the name invariably used in the 1130 Roll.

After the great Inquisition of 1125, the period of issue of each type seems to have been gradually lengthened, for no doubt the moneyers had complained of the constant expense of the frequent changes in mitigation of their punishments. The currency of the last was about two years, of this three, of the next four, and of Stephen's first type at least five years.

The large number of mints of the last three types of the reign is in a measure due to their longer period of issue, but the number of this and the last type must have been influenced by Henry's summons to all his barons to attend the great council of Northampton in September, 1131, which would bring all, or nearly all, the grantees of the chartered mints into England.

Varieties.—None.

TYPE XV.

1131—1135.



Fig. W.

HAWKINS, 255.

Examples also illustrated.—Ruding, ii., 6; Snelling, i., 24; Withy and Ryall, ii., 22, 23, 24, 25 and 26; *Archæologia*, 1822, p. 540; *Num. Chron.*, xii., p. 138, 3, 5, 6 and 7; 1883, vii., 1; 1893, xii., 255.

Obv.—Legend.

✠hENRI: (one instance only)	✠hERIEVS
✠hENRIE:	✠hENRIEVS
✠hENRIEV:	✠hENR6VS
✠hERIGV	✠hENRIEVS R:

Crowned bust three-quarters to the left, otherwise the type is identical in design with the obverse of the last, except that the star is omitted and the crown arched.

Rev.—Cross fleury, with a pellet in each angle and sometimes a pellet or small annulet in the centre, upon a square of slightly concave sides terminating in fleurs at the corners. All within an inner circle.
[Pl. VII., 8—12.]

Mints—21.

Bath	Hereford	Oxford
Bristol	Huntingdon	St. Edmundsbury
Canterbury	Ipswich	Southampton
Carlisle	Lincoln	Stamford
Chester	London	Thetford
Exeter	Northampton	Winchester
Gloucester	Norwich	York

The coins given by Hawkins to Sandwich are transferred to St. Edmundsbury.

Henry is in England for about twenty-four months between 1131 and 1135.

Number of specimens noted.—500.—Another hundred or more have been examined, but as they were so badly struck as to show only fragmentary portions of legends already noted, they are discarded from the list.

Finds.—Battle, Wallsop? Watford, Nottingham, Dartford, Linton near Maidstone, and Ashby-Wolds, Leicestershire.

Weight and quality.—Average 22 grains of standard silver.

Form of letters.—The modern C and W are now quite frequent. Th invariably appears instead of the old Ð, which has now finally disappeared from the general English coinage. G, on at least four different dies, represents (and so may possibly be an early form of) the round C. Latinized moneyers' names are common, and monogrammic letters are again plentiful. An attempt at the moneyers' surname appears for the first time on Norman coins, upon one or two examples of this type.

As we have seen (page 87), William Fitz Otho is now in office, and this is the first type for which he is solely responsible, hence the usual novice's blunders and variations in the King's name.¹

The obverse of this type is adapted from that of the last, and the reverse from that of the curious variety, Fig. Q, described on page 75, each with a difference. That this is the last type of the reign is quite clear from the

¹ The British Museum has an ancient MS. copy of Henry's Charter, addressed to Richard Bishop of London, 1108—1129, and Alberic de Vere, (died 1141), probably the Sheriff, granting to William Fitz Otho his office, and all his lands and tenements within London and without, for performing thenceforth the offices which his father Otho *Aurifaber* had. The date of this Charter is ascertained by the entry in the 1129—30 Pipe Roll, mentioned on page 87, for the fees there debited were in return for it as relief to the crown upon Fitz Otho's succession.—*Chartæ Antiquæ Lond.*, Y, 17.

facts that the Watford, Nottingham, Dartford, and Linton finds, though mainly composed of Stephen's coins, disclosed numerous examples of it, and that the last three named contained no other type of this reign. But its position has already been demonstrated under the previous type.

Of the above finds, the Battle, Wallsop, Watford, and Nottingham have already been discussed, so a word or two upon the others will complete the list. For an account of the Dartford or "Kent" hoard we are again indebted to Mr. Rashleigh in *Num. Chron.* xiii, p. 181. It was discovered in 1826, and contained about sixty coins all of the time of Stephen, with the exception of four of this type. The Linton (near Maidstone) discovery of 1883 is described by Mr. Wakeford in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for that year, and comprised some 180 pennies, cut half-pennies, and farthings. Not more than a dozen were of this type, and the remainder were all of Stephen's reign. Mr. G. F. Hill has supplied particulars of the Ashby-Wolds find of 1788 for the purposes of these notes, from an account of its discovery in that almost inaccessible work, Nichols' *History of Leicestershire*. Nichols is not very explicit when he tells us that, of the 450 silver coins found, almost all were pennies of King Stephen, except a few of Henry I, Henry II, and Henry III! Coins of the latter reign are, of course, impossible in such a find, and a reference to his plates only discloses this type and two types of Stephen, but perhaps the mistake is due to the confusion existing in the eighteenth century as to the proper attribution of the coinage of the three Henrys.

This type was still in circulation during the most troubled years of Stephen's reign, when so many hoards would be buried for safety, and so to-day it is as plentiful as all the other types of Henry's reign put together.

Another cause, however, may be that, as Henry at his death left in his treasury at Winchester "coin estimated at one hundred thousand pounds, and that of the best quality" (Malmesbury), it would, for some time after Stephen's accession, be the chief medium of exchange. Coin in the King's treasury would, we may assume, be kept up to the latest type, so that it might always be current upon an emergency.

That these coins are neither pleasing to look at nor easy to read is not William Fitz Otho's fault, for his design is good, but is due to the moneyers' wretched system of careless striking, or of first striking them in a round collar and then roughly clipping them down in weight to the bare margin of tender. Refer for example to the specimen engraved in *Num. Chron.* xii. No. 7, which is octagon, or rather square with the corners cut off, the result being that there is not one letter visible upon it!

Although six or seven hundred coins of this type have been noted or examined for this work, the number of different mints upon them does not exceed twenty-one. Yet seventy-three coins of type 265 furnish twenty-two mints, and one hundred and thirty-five coins of type 262 thirty mints. Therefore it is evident that if more than twenty-one mints had been coining between 1131 and 1135, we must have had specimens of them out of the overwhelming proportion of the coins of this type.

Varieties.—None.

This completes the descriptions of the various types of Henry I, and it will be noticed that Hawkins 259, 260, 261, X and XII, are not included. Although sub-divided by Hawkins into five types, they are really but two and their varieties. There are, however, others of the same

class, although some twenty coins in all complete the whole series. Upon them the letters "W" and Ω are not only firmly established, but are almost invariably used. Hence, as we have seen, their issue could not have been prior to type 262 (1128—1131), when the former letter was introduced, and therefore, as the Watford find contained altogether more than eleven hundred coins issued between 1128 and some time early in Stephen's reign, and yet only contained the two last types of Henry I, it is impossible to believe that any of the coins of this series were then in circulation. Otherwise a stray one at least would have appeared. Moreover they have never been found except with the coins of Stephen's reign. But, as it is always easier and more satisfactory to prove an affirmative than a negative, it may be sufficient to say here that the appropriation of these coins will be dealt with in a general work upon the Norman coinage.

CHAPTER VII.

HISTORY OF THE MINTS AND THEIR COINS.

It is hoped that, by a few lines of historical introduction to each mint, some idea of the importance of the towns in those days may be gleaned, for their condition now is no criterion of what it was in the days of Henry I. The population of the whole kingdom, according to Sir Henry Ellis, did not then exceed two millions, and probably most of it was centered around the principal towns.

With the exceptions of York, Durham, and Carlisle, all the mints were south of a line drawn from Chester to Lincoln, but including those two important cities. It does not, however, follow that all the principal cities and towns were places of mintage, for the privilege of coining

was granted rather as a matter of favour to the applicant than with any regard to the exigency of the people. Thus the cities of Coventry, Ely, Lichfield, and Sherborne had then no money of their own, and even the wealthy abbots of Abingdon never received the favour.

It will be noticed that the dates of most of the types appear to overlap each other, but this is not so in reality, but merely owing to the fact that the exchequer year then ended on September 29th, and therefore most of the types were probably changed in the autumn, and so the same year is given to two types. This is borne out by the evidence of the Reading writ, quoted on page 28, which required the dies to be delivered "within fifteen days of the feast of St. Martin at the furthest." In 1180 Henry II's new coinage was "made current on St. Martin's day;" but in consequence of the Inquisition of Christmas, 1125, type 265 probably commenced in January, 1126.

The records of many hundred charters have been consulted during the compilation of these notes, but only those will be quoted which are requisite to fill in a gap in the history of a mint or its grantee. For instance, if the grantee of a mint is presumably in England or Normandy, as the case may be, during a certain year, it is unnecessary to prove it; but in the absence of other evidence our charters often supply this information.

Unfortunately, most of the Norman charters are undated, but, as we have seen under type 251, page 47, in the instance of Otho Fitz Otto's grant, the date can usually be ascertained from internal evidence.

For convenience of alphabetical reference to the moneyers, the reverse legend is placed first in the following lists of coins.

ATLE.

"ATLE" is given in Ruding's list of Henry's mints, but as he offers no further information about it, and as there does not seem to be any coin to support the reading, we may assume that it must have been taken from a Canterbury coin of type 251 or 254, reading "OHE HTLE," for ON ENTLE, as the N and A were at that period usually represented by H or II, and the arms of the E in the monogram HE were probably either obliterated on the coin or overlooked. Compare **Pl. II. No. 1.**

BARNSTAPLE (DEVONSHIRE).

BARNASTAPULA, BEARDESTAPLA, BERDENESTAPLA; Domesday, BARNESTAPLE; Exon. ditto, BARDESTAPLE and BARNESTAPLE; Pipe Roll, BERDESTAPLA; Charters, BARNESTAPLA, etc.; Tower Records, Ed. I., BERDSTAPLE; Colloquially, BARUM.

The origin of Barnstaple is unknown, but it has been suggested that its familiar name Barum may, like that of Old Sarum, have survived to us from the days of the Romans. Its position as the maritime port of North Devon for the wool and mineral products of the surrounding country must have rendered it a thriving market, or *staple*, in early Saxon times, and that it was a place of some importance in the first half of the tenth century, is supported by an ancient tradition that Athelstan drove the Danes over the Tamar, and abode in his palace at Barnstaple. This is probably true, as it would constitute the town a royal burg, and explains the passage in Domesday, "King Edward (the Confessor) had the burg of Barnstaple." The mound of the castle, too, dates from at least that century. About the same time the episcopal See of Devon was dissociated from that of Sherborne, and for a short period,

prior to its translation to Crediton, located at Bishops Tawton, two miles from the gates of Barnstaple.

1067-8. The Burg suffered in the Devonshire rising, and 23 houses seem to have been laid waste. William appointed Judhel de Totnes castellan, and gave him the Honour of Barnstaple, including Totness and Lydford. He founded the Norman castle.

1086. Domesday notes.—In King Edward's time, the King had the burg. Now there are 40 burgesses within and 9 without who pay 40s. to the King and 20s. to the Bishop of Coutances. There are 23 houses laid waste since the King (William I) came into England. The King has the burg; the Bishop ten burgesses paying 45 pence; and Baldwin the Sheriff has seven burgesses. The mill renders 20s., of which the Bishop has a share. The mint is not mentioned.

William II gave the Honour of Barnstaple to Roger de Novant.

1130. Pipe Roll notes.—Wido de Novant, presumably the heir of Roger de Novant, is paying quittance for a [? confirmation] grant of the fair at Totness and certain fees in respect of a claim against his lands brought by Johell Fitz Nigel, probably the grandson of Judhel.

It is to Mr. L. A. Lawrence, in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1897, that we are indebted for the correct appropriation of certain coins of a mint commencing BARD or BEARD to this town.

They comprise the reigns of Ethelred II, Canute, Harold I, Edward the Confessor, William I—II, and Henry I.

At some date in the Saxon period the burgesses of Barnstaple, Totness, and Lydford, must have obtained a charter of privileges in return for the supply of a ship or contribution to an expedition of the King when required, for so it is elsewhere recorded in Domesday. Messrs. Stevenson and Napier, too, confirm this by the evidence of the *burg-witan* at Beardastapol being mentioned in 1018 (see "*The Crawford Charters*"). Thus we may infer that

up to the date of the Conquest Barnstaple was a royal burg, farmed to the burgesses, upon certain customs and a rent of 40s. to the King, and 20s., the "third penny" of the town, to the Bishop of Coutances.

The fact that Barnstaple, Totness, and Lydford were rated together to contribute the ship, coupled with the coincidence that the mints of Barnstaple, Totness, and Lydford all commence in the reign of Ethelred II, use the same types and interchange their moneys, and supported by the evidence that Barnstaple had already its *burg-witan* within two years of that king's death, strongly suggests that charters of privileges had been granted to the three towns by Ethelred II. They evidently included the right of coinage to each, as was the case in the very similar instances of those seaports which were subsequently known as the *Cinque Ports*; and these conditions seem to have continued until the time of the Conquest.

William did not confirm these charters, as it is evident from Domesday that he granted the *tertius denarius* of the burg of Barnstaple to Geoffrey de Mowbray, Bishop of Coutances (see pages 119-123). This would include the lordship of the manor and the mint. But although the Bishop nominally retained the *tertius denarius*, he seems to have released his lordship in favour of one of his knights, for King William granted the Honour of Barnstaple, including Totness and Lydford, to Judhel, or Joel, Fitz Alured of Totness, and so the three mints fell under one hand. Hence it was not likely that Judhel would continue the expense of three so near together when the supply of one was sufficient. He therefore discontinued that of Lydford altogether, but coined intermittently at either Barnstaple or Totness, but never contemporaneously at both places.

Judhel is said to have been banished by Rufus for some unrecorded offence, but he would, no doubt, be concerned in his lord, Geoffrey de Mowbray's, rebellion of 1088. The head of Judhel's house was Geoffrey de Mayenne, who also, in 1088, revolted against Rufus in Normandy; this probably led to Judhel's fall.

William II then granted the Honour to Roger de Novant; who, however, does not seem to have ever exercised the privilege of coining here. From the Pipe Roll one gathers that he had died a few years before 1129-30, and for reasons presently given the date must have been about 1123.

Henry I is always credited with having incorporated Barnstaple, but what he did was to restore its Saxon privileges. The evidence of his charter to the burgesses is to be gleaned from one of Henry II, in which the King confirms to the burgesses

"all the rights and customs which they had in the time of my grandfather, King Henry, I having removed all the bad customs after my grandfather there arisen. Know ye that they have the customs of London, and so testify before me that they and the barons of London so freely, honourably, and justly have the same as ever they better had in the time of my grandfather."

The customs of London will be referred to under that mint, but the reference to them not only shows that Henry I had granted a charter to Barnstaple conferring the greatest civic rights of the age upon its burgesses, but that the charter to Barnstaple must have been subsequent to the death of Roger de Novant, for Henry could not grant what was Roger de Novant's during his life. Thus the Barnstaple charter must have been dated after, say, 1123.

The 1130 Pipe Roll tells us that Wido de Nunant (Novant), no doubt as heir to Roger, paid £10 for a

judgment in his favour as to the land which Johell Fitz Nigel claimed against him and ten marks of silver for a (confirmation) grant of the fair at Totness. Hence we know that Roger de Novant was then dead and that some time at least had elapsed since his death. These entries must have referred to Totness alone, for the King himself had resumed possession of Barnstaple, as, by a charter granted at Perriers [in 1125], he gave the mill and its tolls, with other property at Barnstaple, to the Priory.

As type 265 (1126-1128) now appears from the Barnstaple mint, we may very fairly conclude that the charter to the Priory, the charter to Wido de Novant, and the charter to the burgesses of Barnstaple were all granted after the death of Roger de Novant and in 1125, and that the burgesses immediately availed themselves of their ancient privilege of a mint.

The burgesses, however, evidently lost their rights at some time before the reign of Henry II, for this is implied by his charter and by the fact that the Roll of 1158 records that William de Braose paid to the exchequer 1,000 marks of silver for his part of the Honour of Barnstaple. William de Braose in a charter calls himself "grandson of Joel"—*i.e.* Joel Fitz Nigel, not Joel de Totness, as hitherto supposed, for too many years intervene between the latter and de Braose. The claim of Joel Fitz Nigel, referred to in the 1130 Roll, probably explains the reason why the coinage of the burgesses ceased in 1128 as suddenly as it had commenced. His unusual name suggests a relationship to Joel de Totness, and his name appears as Joel de *Barnstaple* as early as in the Foundation charter of Plympton Priory, about August, 1123. On the other hand, in the same charter Wido is described as de Totness. Hence we may infer that Joel

Fitz Nigel claimed the whole Honour of Barnstaple, including Totness and Lydford, and that prior to the date of the Pipe Roll, say, in 1128, it was partitioned between himself and Wido, as heir of Roger de Novant; he receiving Barnstaple, and thus causing the revocation of the charter to the burgesses, and Wido retaining his grant of Totness as is evidenced by the Roll. This also explains the reason why William de Braose, as heir to Fitz Nigel, in 1158 claimed only a part of the Honour which had formerly included Totness, and why there is no return for Barnstaple in the 1130 Roll.

COIN.

✠OTER ON BERDESTA

✠HENRIEVS

265

British Museum; from the Montagu Sale, 1897, and the Hugh Howard Collection, 1874 (but said to have been formed at the commencement of "the last century"). OTER was probably one of the family of that name who were moneyers of Dorchester.

 BATH (SOMERSETSHIRE).

BATHAN, BATHA, BATHONIA, BADUNUM; Early Saxon, AKEMAN-CEASTER; Domesday, BADE; Pipe Roll, BADA.

That the early Britons held a stronghold in the neighbourhood of Bath is certain, but its mineral springs would be a far greater attraction to the Roman conquerors than to them, and therefore its actual site was probably first occupied by the latter. In like manner they founded Buxton and Ilkley. The Roman fortifications of Bath no doubt remained much as their builders left them, until in 577 the Saxons stormed the city after the battle of

Deorham. After the introduction of Christianity a nunnery was established here in the seventh century, which was, however, replaced, a hundred years later, by a college of secular canons, and at the close of the eighth century Offa, King of Mercia, built, or rebuilt, the Church of St. Peter.

But it is to Alfred and the men of Somersetshire, after the expulsion of the Danes from the county, that the revival of the importance of the city is due. That king seems to have fortified it and placed a governor here, for under 906 we have the curious passage in the Saxon Chronicle, "In this year died Alfred, who was governor of Bath." Here, in 973, Edgar was crowned in the Church of St. Peter, and he greatly enriched the town and monastery. But in 1013 Bath suffered at the hands of Sweyn the Dane; nevertheless it was a thriving burg in the time of the Confessor.

The description of Bath in the reigns of Henry I and Stephen, from the *Gesta Stephani*, is as follows:—

"There is a city, six miles from Bristol, where the hot springs, circulating in channels beneath the surface, are conducted by channels artificially constructed and are collected into an arched reservoir, to supply the warm baths (the Roman baths) which stand in the middle of the place, most delightful to see and beneficial to health. This city is called *Batta*, the name being derived from a word in the English tongue which signified bath; because infirm people resort to it from all parts of England for the purpose of bathing in these salubrious waters; and persons in health also assemble there to see the curious bubbling up of the warm springs, and to use the baths." (Forester.)

This might almost be a record of the days of the Regent.

1086. Domesday notes.—In the time of King Edward the King held Bath. Now the burg contains 178 burgesses, of whom 64, returning £4, hold under the King,

- 90 returning 60 shillings, under various feudatories of the crown, and 24 under the Abbot of St. Peter's. Six houses are laid waste and one destroyed. The King has the burg and the *mint* renders 100 shillings.
1088. "Bath, a city of the King's," was plundered and burnt by Robert de Mowbray. (Florence.)
- 1088-90. John de Villula translated the seat of the Bishopric of Wells to Bath and founded the Norman Cathedral, of which however there is hardly a trace remaining.
- 1090 & 97. William II by charters granted "to God and the Church of St. Peter in Bath and to John the Bishop, and to his successors, all the City of Bath for the augmentation of the revenue of the see; for the good of the soul of his father King William I and the souls of his mother, of himself and of his ancestors and successors. Together with the *mint* and other privileges." Florence of Worcester with unintentional cynicism explains that the Bishop bought the whole city for £500.
1101. Henry I confirms the above charters.
1102. Henry by charter "gives and confirms the city itself and everything appertaining to the *firma* of the said city together with the mint, &c.," to John the Bishop.
1106. Bishop John, by charter, transfers the city and its privileges to the Church of St. Peter.
1106. Easter. Henry holds his court here. (Sax. Chron.)
1122. December 29. Death of Bishop John. (Florence.)
1123. August 26. Geoffrey the Queen's Chancellor (or chaplain according to some authorities) consecrated Bishop of Bath.
1130. Pipe Roll notes.—Somersetshire is omitted from the Roll. The learned Adelardus of Bath is mentioned. Geoffrey the Chancellor owes £3,006 13s. 4d. for the Great Seal—for his appointment—and is allowed £10 15s. 0d. for 43 days' absence from the Exchequer. Geoffrey the Chancellor, who was appointed Bishop of Durham, 1133, was formerly believed to have been the Bishop of Bath, but—
1134. August 16. "Geoffrey, Bishop of Bath, died on the 17th of the calends of September; after some interval he was succeeded by a monk (of Lewes) named Robert, a Fleming by descent, but born in England." (Florence.)

The name of Bath first appears upon our coins in the latter part of the reign of Alfred, and continues throughout all the Saxon reigns with the exceptions of those of Eadmund and Harold II. It may, however, be noticed here that although the name of a mint may not occur upon coins of the Saxon kings prior to Ethelred II, it does not follow that it was dormant, as certain types bear the names of the moneyers only. For instance, a Bath moneyer's name appears upon one of these types of Eadmund.

From before the accession of William I to, and inclusive of, the date of Domesday—1086—it is quite clear that Bath was “a city of the King’s,” and that in 1086 at least there was a royal mint here in operation. Its vicinity to the prolific mints of Bristol and Gloucester—the latter of which in Domesday paid a rent of £20 to the King—must have affected its output, and so in late Saxon times we find only two moneyers' names at a time upon its coins. This number was continued in the reign of William I, and the mint paid a rent of only £5 to the King.

But in Robert de Mowbray's rising of 1088 the city was destroyed, and from that date the *royal* mint of Bath ceases for ever. Therefore all the types bearing the King's name WILLIAM that we have of this mint must have been struck prior to that time.

In 1090 John de Villula commenced rebuilding the city, choosing it for his episcopal seat in preference to Wells. According to Domesday the Bishops of Wells held that town—by ancient charter—and so there was a precedent for the purchase or grant of Bath. In 1097 the whole city is granted to Bishop John and his successors, and though the mint is mentioned, it is only included in the general words of the charter conveying

all the King's rights and privileges within the city, and the mere grant of the city alone would have been just as effective, whether the mint was specially named or not.

As was necessary, according to the custom of the period, Henry I confirmed and extended this charter—so likewise did King Stephen to the then bishop—but we have ample evidence that John de Villula never exercised his privilege of coining during the whole of his life, for otherwise, from a tenure of thirty years, some at least of his coins must have survived to us. He had no mint at Wells, and when he came to Bath the ruined city offered little temptation for the undertaking; in fact, with the exception of the short revival about to be mentioned, the mint was already an office of the past. Moreover, his own charter of 1106 transferring his personal rights under the charters to his Church suggests that, throughout, he viewed himself in the light of a mere spiritual trustee.

Bishop John died at the close of 1122, and in August, 1123, his successor Geoffrey was installed. A confirmation charter must follow—not precede—the induction of a bishop, and as Henry was then in Normandy, it would, in this instance, have to await his return in September, 1126, for such charters appear usually, if not always, to have been granted at the English courts. Its actual date was probably either upon the occasion when “all the bishops and nobles” swore fealty to Matilda the Empress at the London court on January 1st, 1127 (Florence), or when Bishop Geoffrey is specially mentioned as attending the May court at Westminster in the same year.

Bishop Geoffrey took an active part in political life, and he at once, after receiving his confirmation charter, reopened the mint, for type 265 (1126-1128) is struck at Bath. This is followed by the next in succession, 262

(1128-1131), and, according to a catalogue reading, by 255 (1131-1135), when upon the Bishop's death in 1134 and probably because it was found to be unprofitable, the mint of Bath was closed for ever. This revival, too, was but a small coinage, for we find the number of moneyers at a time now reduced to one. A reduction in the number of moneyers seems always to have followed the conversion of a royal into a private mint.

When a mint was newly established, or revived after being long dormant, it seems to have been necessary and customary to temporarily borrow a moneyer from elsewhere to organize the new work, for, as will be noticed in other cases—that of Carlisle, for instance—the moneyer whose name appears on the first type rarely issues the second. It is so here, for PINTERLEDE, who struck type 265, does not issue 262. Perhaps Bishop Geoffrey borrowed him from his archbishop's mint, as he most naturally would, when he met the Primate at the Synod of May, 1127, for we find PINIEDEI—probably contracted from PIN[TER]LEDEI—coining at Canterbury before this type—265—and immediately after it, but *not* during its issue. Upon this system of introducing moneyers to revive a dormant coinage, see particularly under Gloucester.

COINS.

✠OSBERN : ON BAD : ✠hENRI . . . 262
Watford find.

. . . BERN . . . BA EVS R 262
Watford find.

✠PINTERLEDE : ON · BAÐA · ✠hENRIEVS : 265

British Museum ; Fig. U. From the Durrant Sale, 1847, £2 11s. 0d. As to the moneyer, see above.

✠PINTERLED : ON · BADA ✠hENRICVS R: 265

Engraved, Withy and Ryall, ii., 20.

The Tyssen Catalogue, 1802, contains 2 coins of . 265

At the Haines Sale, 1878, a coin of 255 (1131—1135) was described as “probably minted at Bath.” If this is correct the type would be issued by Bishop Geoffrey, between 1131 and his death in 1134—probably early in the limit.

BEDFORD.

BEDANFORD, BELCANFORD, BEDICANFORD, BEDEFORDA ; Pipe Roll, BEDEFORD.

Although prehistoric remains abound in the neighbourhood, we know little or nothing of the early history of Bedford until the Saxon Chronicle records a victory of Cuthvulf over the Britons at this place in the year 571. Offa, King of Mercia, is said to have been buried here, but the town does not seem to have attained its importance until—

In 919 “King Edward—the Elder—went with his forces to Bedford and gained the town—from the Danes—and almost all the townsmen who formerly dwelt there submitted to him. He stayed there four weeks, and commanded the town to be built on the south side of the river before he went thence.” (Sax. Chron.)

This rather implies that the Danes had destroyed the old town, and in 1010 they again “came to Bedford, ever burning as they went.” Nor were its misfortunes confined to Saxon times, for, as Camden says, “not one civil commotion arose in the kingdom but what had a blow at the castle of Bedford.”

William I appointed Hugh de Beauchamp castellan of Bedford.

1086. Domesday notes.—In the Confessor’s time and now the burg contributed for half the Hundred in

expeditions and ships (to the King's forces). The land of the town never paid land tax, with the exception of one hide which lay in tithe to the Church of St. Paul.

William II granted, or confirmed, the Honour of Bedford to Payne, son of Hugh de Beauchamp.

1130. Pipe Roll notes.—The burg paid £4 8s. 0d. *auxilium*. Simon de Beauchamp accounts for £102 16s. 8d. which is being paid by instalments for the security of his Honour [of Bedford] "*quem non habuit ad rectum*." ["*hōis*" is the contraction used in the Roll for both *Honoris* and *hominis*, but the payment is far too large a sum to admit of the latter construction. *Pro recto* or *ad rectum* occurs thirty or forty times in the Roll, and yet it is invariably used in relation to land alone. See p. 157.]

Although the name of this mint first appears on coins of Eadwig, there is, as Mr. Grueber points out in the *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, evidence, by a comparison of its moneyers with those of Eadred, that it had been in operation for some time at least previous to this reign. The coinage was continued under each successive King until the Norman Conquest, but the number of moneyers in office at a time seems to have been gradually reduced from three or four to two.

Although William I appointed Hugh de Beauchamp castellan, and subsequently gave him the Honour and barony of Bedford also, the burg seems to have been farmed to the burgesses at the date of Domesday. The *Gesta* tells us that Milo de Beauchamp, grandson of Hugh, in 1138 claimed Bedford "by hereditary right," and as he was only nephew to Payne, who received a grant of the Honour from Rufus, this term could not apply to the second grant, for a title could no more descend by right to a nephew then than it can now.

As the mint is not mentioned in Domesday, either under the Confessor or under William, its privileges were

no doubt vested in the Saxon earls of Mercia during the former reign, and in Hugh de Beauchamp under William I.

Hugh seems to have died during the reign of William II, leaving three sons, Robert, Payne, and Simon. Hence the grant of the Honour of Bedford to Payne was the usual and necessary charter of confirmation upon his succession.

Although Payne succeeded to the English possessions, he was probably the second son, for in nearly all cases where the barons held estates both in England and Normandy, the eldest son took those in the latter country. The succession to the crown of England even, then followed this custom.

Robert de Beauchamp, Viscount of Arques, was therefore probably the eldest son, and he plays a somewhat prominent part in the history of Normandy in the earlier half of Henry's reign. Perhaps Payne was assisting him and resident in Normandy, for English historians and charters are silent as to his movements, and we have no Bedford coins which can be assigned to his tenure of the Honour.

Payne must have died before 1129, or he would certainly have appeared in the 1130 Roll, and from it we gather some light upon the succession. Simon, the third son of Hugh, is owing large fees, now standing at £102 16s. 8d., of which this year he pays £33 6s. 8d., "*pro plegio honoris sui quem non habuit ad rectum.*" From this it would appear that he had a "*breve de recto*" from the King, which was a writ of "right close" in cases where lands were held by charter, but their title disputed.

Payne left no issue, so far as can be ascertained, and as this payment is not entered under the "*Nova placita*" portion of the Roll, and is being reduced by instalments,

we may presume that he died two or three years before 1129. And so, as we have coins of type 265 (1126-1128), we may infer that the writ was issued during that period, and the barony only then vested in Simon.

The dispute would be as to whether Milo de Beauchamp, as eldest son of Robert the Viscount, who is now dead, would succeed to the English estates, or Simon, the younger brother of Payne. This seems proved to have been the family feud, because, on the death of Simon a few years afterwards, when King Stephen bestowed Bedford on Hugh Beaumont "the Poor," as husband of Simon's only child, Milo and his brothers, "the sons of Robert de Beauchamp," took arms against him, and defended the castle during a lengthy siege (see Orderic and the *Gesta*).

The entry in the Roll by no means proves Simon to have been in England in 1129-1130, and, as he was absent from the great council of Northampton in 1131, and as we have no Bedford coins other than of type 265, the presumption is that he, like his brother, spent his life abroad; with the exception, however, of the occasion of his application for the writ of confirmation in his Honour. He would then return to take seizin of his possessions and no doubt issued type 265 in 1126-8. His name, too, seems only to occur in one English charter, which is also of about that date.

After so long a dormancy, it was necessary to obtain a moneyer from another mint to revive the art of coinage at Bedford, and in 1126-1128 Simon seems to have temporarily borrowed EDRIEVS from Bristol. He would naturally look to the west for a moneyer, as his cousin, Walter de Beauchamp, was castellan of Worcester, and held large possessions in Gloucestershire. He also claimed the constableness of that city.

With the exception of a coinage of Milo de Beauchamp during his revolt against Stephen in 1138, the mint of Bedford closes entirely with type 265 of Henry I.

COINS.

✠EDR[IEVS] ON BEDEF: ✠[hENRIE]VS R: 265

British Museum. The reading of the mint is quite clear, so it cannot be a Hereford coin. As to the moneyer, see above.

✠ ON BE . EFOR ✠hENRIEV . . 265

Podleian Library. Mr. Nicholson and Mr. Oman have contributed the readings of the Bodleian coins.

The coin of type 267, engraved Ruding, Sup., ii., 1, 6, queried by Hawkins to this mint, is of Thetford.

BISES.

“BISES” is given in Ruding’s list of mints. It is taken from the coin, type 253, engraved Snelling, i. 15, and Ruding, Sup., i. 7, reading, ✠hENRI REX, *rev.*, ✠OSBR: ON BISES. But both engravings are copied from Withy and Ryall, ii. 11. As this plate was prepared as early as 1756, much reliance cannot be placed upon the accuracy of the engraver’s reading, for in those days the picture was the primary object, the coin the second. Therefore any blank on the latter was guessed, or the visible legend spread over it, until the twenty-six coins of Henry I on the plate disclose no missing letter—an impossible result. (See also the similar instance of “RIE.”) It is true that the notorious John White was concerned in supplying the specimens for Withy’s plates, and so the authenticity of the coins illustrated has always been questioned. But it is only just to point out that it is

merely upon certain fabricated pennies of Richard I that his character fell, and that not fairly, for over them, in large type, was printed, "Imaginary coins of Richard the First." It was Snelling and Ruding, therefore, who blundered in republishing these *imaginary* specimens as genuine ones. This at least can be said, so far as Henry I and Stephen's coins are concerned, Withy's plates will bear the closest scrutiny of moneyer and mint, and there is no reason to question a single example, nor have we many better engravings to-day.

The BISES coin seems to have been last heard of at the Phare Sale in 1834, when it was assigned to Bicester. But the simple explanation of it must be either that the R in B[R]ISES (Bristol) was a blank, and so left out by the engraver of the plate; or, and this is more probable in view of the Phare Catalogue, the R was omitted upon the die of the coin, just as the *second* letter is often dropped at this period in ENTN (Canterbury), DFN (Dover), GOPE (Gloucester), HSTIE (Hastings), 6PIE (Ipswich), &c. A precisely similar instance occurs in a coin of the next reign, reading, "✠AREFIW : ON BIS." Oddly enough both coins have the colon similarly placed before ON only, and in the latter case the usual second colon and the R are obviously omitted for want of space upon the coin.

The BISES coin must therefore be assigned to Bristol.

BRISTOL.

BRIGSTOW, BRICSTOWE, BRISTOW, BRESTOW; Domesday, BRISTOV; Charters, BRISTOLL, BRISTOWA.

BRISTOL seems to have been a Roman port in the third century, and Nennius calls it one of the principal cities of

the later Britons under the name of *Cuir-Britoc*. It was the *Brig-stow* or "place of bridge" of the Saxons, and probably fell into their hands in 577, when they conquered Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath. Perhaps they destroyed it in that year, as we hear little if anything of its history until the reign of the Confessor, when the Saxon Chronicle records that Earl Harold in 1052 sailed thence, a fugitive, to Ireland. In 1063 Harold again sailed from Bristol, but this time with the royal forces to subdue the Welsh.

1067. "One of Harold's sons came with a fleet from Ireland unexpectedly into the mouth of the river Avon, and soon plundered all the neighbourhood. He went to Bristol and would have stormed the town but the inhabitants opposed him bravely." (Sax. Chron.)
1086. Domesday notes.—The burgesses give what Bishop G. (Geoffrey de Mowbray, Bishop of Coutances) has, twenty-three marks of silver and one of gold in addition to the *firma* of the King. Bertune (Barton) and Bristov returned to the King 110 silver marks.
1088. "Geoffrey, Bishop of Coutances, held Bristol castle in conjunction with his nephew and accomplice in conspiracy and treason, Robert de Mowbray, a man of military experience." (Florence.) This was in Odo's rebellion, and the castle would then be the Norman keep only. On its suppression Bristol fell into the King's hands. In this rebellion Robert Fitz Hamon and William de Warren (see Lewes) give the King "useful aid even with arms and their counsels against the common enemy." (Orderic.)
1090. In return for this support, Rufus grants Fitz Hamon "his mother's lands, of which he had dis-seised his brother Henry." (Orderic.) These included Gloucester and Bristol, and lands in Gloucestershire, Buckingham, and Cornwall. The three first named were probably now united into "The Honour of Gloucester."
1100. August 1. Fitz Hamon, at Winchester, endeavours

to persuade Rufus to abandon his fatal hunting expedition.

August 5. Witnesses Henry's letter to Archbishop Anselm.

1101. Autumn. Declares for Henry (Malmesbury) and—

1102-3. Witnesses Henry's charter to Rochester and his Christmas charter at Westminster.

1104. Espouses Henry's cause in Normandy. (Orderic.)

1105. Early in the year is captured by Duke Robert's forces at Sicqueville and imprisoned at Bayeux. (Wace.)

Easter. Is released by Henry, who burns Bayeux. (Orderic.)

Shortly afterwards he is struck in the forehead by a lance at the siege of Falaise, loses his reason, and dies, March, 1107. He left an only daughter, Mabel, then a minor and ward of the Crown.

1121-3. "It is certain," says Mr. Round, in *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, "that Robert Fitz Roy received the earldom of Gloucester between April—May, 1121 and June, 1123." Malmesbury says, "whom he (Henry) had created Earl of Gloucester, bestowing on him in marriage, Mabel" (daughter and sole heiress of Fitz Hamon).

1121. Henry holds his Easter court at Berkeley, in the Honour of Gloucester (Huntingdon). Perhaps this was the occasion of Robert's installation in the Honour as husband of Mabel, to be followed by the creation of his earldom at the Great Witan specially held at Gloucester on February 2nd, 1123.

1123. June. Robert accompanies Henry to Normandy (Simeon of Durham) and besieges Brionne.

1126. September. He probably returns with Henry, for "1126, the King caused his brother Robert to be taken from Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, and delivered to his son Robert, Earl of Gloucester, and he caused him to be removed to Bristol and put into the castle." (Sax. Chron.)

1127. January 1. At Westminster, Earl Robert contests precedence with Stephen, afterwards King, in swearing allegiance to the widowed Empress Matilda as Henry's successor, and, in the spring, with Brian Fitz Count, escorts her to Normandy for her marriage with Geoffrey of Anjou. (Sax. Chron.)

1129. Michaelmas. Earl Robert has returned to Eng-

land, for he and Brian Fitz Count receive and audit the Exchequer accounts at Winchester. (Pipe Roll.)

1130. Pipe Roll notes.—Bristol does not appear in the Roll—perhaps because the city belonged entirely to the Earl. The Earl receives enormous sums, for those days, throughout the kingdom, including £20 for his [third] part of the county. One entry under Kent (probably inserted there because of the hereditary property of Fitz Hamon in that county) seems to explain that when Rufus disseised his brother Henry of “his mother’s lands” (see above, under 1090) in favour of Robert Fitz Hamon, he charged the latter, and therefore now Earl Robert his successor, with an annual payment from his Kent estates. It is, “*Comes Glocestria debet c m arg. de conventionem quam Willelmus conventionaverat regi in Normaniâ pro Comitatu.*”

1131. September 8. Earl Robert is at the Northampton council to take the second oath of allegiance to Matilda, and witnesses the Salisbury charter.

1133. Probably accompanies Henry to Normandy, as from 1133 to 1135 he administers the vacant see of Bayeux.

1135. December 1. He is present at Henry’s death at Lyons. (Orderic.)

So far as we can judge from our coins, Bristol was one of the numerous mints granted during the reign of Ethelred II. The names of all his Saxon successors appear upon its coins, and there seem to have been four moneyers there at a time.

At the date of the Conquest, Bristol is said to have been part of the lordship of the unfortunate Brihtric, Ealdorman of Gloucester, and so given to Queen Matilda. But this must be an error, as it is apparent from Domesday that in the time of the Confessor it was a royal city farmed to the burgesses. In return for material assistance on the invasion, and for suppressing a revolt of the English in the west, the militant Bishop of Coutances—Geoffrey de Mowbray—received “two hundred and eighty manors by grant from William for his share” (Orderic). There is, however, an incidental note in Domesday, viz.,

“when Roger (probably Roger de Pistres) received Bristol.” Thus it would seem that Roger de Pistres was appointed castellan or sheriff immediately after the battle of Hastings, but that, with Barnstaple, the city was granted to Bishop Geoffrey, for he held it, and what was practically its *tertius denarius*, until 1088. As Queen Matilda died in 1083, it is quite possible that she held Bristol in the interim.

The mint is not mentioned in Domesday, and as Bishop Geoffrey held the whole city it would be included, and therefore its rents and profits were his, and to have recorded them would have been to credit the King’s revenue with something which did not affect him one iota.

That Bishop Geoffrey did exercise the privilege of coinage is proved by a considerable issue of coins from the Bristol mint at this period. In fact, the various types of the Williams struck here correspond with the changes of ownership of the city during their respective reigns.

In 1090, Robert Fitz Hamon received from Rufus the city of Bristol as part of the Honour of Gloucester. He was not created Earl of Gloucester, but the city and mint of Bristol were granted to him with the Honour in like manner as about the same period the city and mint of Chichester were granted to Roger de Montgomery, with the Earldom of Shrewsbury, and the town and mint of Lewes to William de Warren with the Earldom of Surrey. The general words of a charter granting a city or town included every right and privilege which the King or his predecessors, or the former owner, held in it, and so whether a mint happens to be mentioned or not, unless specially excepted, it passed with the town.—See, for instance, the wording of Henry I’s charter under Colchester, p. 160.

Robert Fitz Hamon certainly issued two or three types here under Rufus, and was in England at that King's death. On Henry's accession Fitz Hamon's position was a delicate one. He had been the personal friend of Rufus, and we are told wept over his corpse at Winchester. Moreover, he unfortunately held the estates of which Henry had been deprived. To quote Orderic :—

“1090. Henry was then at variance with King William in regard to his mother's lands in England, which his brother had taken from him and granted to Robert Fitz Hamon.”

Thus Henry must at first have viewed Fitz Hamon with considerable doubt and suspicion. It is therefore unlikely that the King granted him his confirmation charter at once. But in the autumn of 1101, Fitz Hamon was one of the few Norman barons who declared for Henry upon Duke Robert's invasion, and subsequently when peace was arranged there can be little doubt that he was high in the royal favour, as he represented the King in the 1103 Treaty with Earl Robert of Flanders, and would have received his charter as a matter of course. This will bring us to the year 1102, and may account for the fact that type 251 (1100-1102) does not appear in the subjoined list of Bristol coins.

During 1102 and 1103 Fitz Hamon is in England, and we have type 254 (1102-1104) represented on the Bristol coins. He is still here during the greater part of 1104, and type 253 (1104-1106) is represented by a single coin of this mint. But now Fitz Hamon's life, so far as England is concerned, closes, and the Bristol mint is simultaneously discontinued, and lies dormant for a period of seventeen or eighteen years. He sailed to Normandy towards the end of 1104, and after a disastrous military career was wounded, and lost his reason in 1105, only

to linger till March 1107, when he died and his body was brought to Tewkesbury Abbey for interment.

He left no son, but a daughter and sole heiress, Mabel, who was a minor at that time and in the wardship of the King, as were all feudal heiresses, whether daughters or widows, in those days. In no instance do we find the privileges of a mint exercised during the period when it is in the King's hands, by wardship or even, in the case of an ecclesiastical benefice, between the death of one bishop and the appointment of his successor, and so until the marriage of Mabel, Fitz Hamon's daughter, and a confirmation charter to her husband, coinage at Bristol or Gloucester was impossible. Hence we have no coins struck at either mint of any interim type.

We are told that Robert Fitz Regis was the eldest of Henry's natural children, and that he was born before his father came to the throne. As Henry was then only thirty years of age, and Robert's name first appears as a witness to a charter in 1113, he was probably born about 1095. Hence the old date 1109 assigned to the marriage of Robert and Mabel Fitz Hamon is improbable. The date now usually accepted is 1119, but both Henry and Robert were then at the Normandy wars, and Mr. Round leaves this an open question.

Robert's marriage, coupled with a confirmation charter of the estates and privileges of Robert Fitz Hamon, would give him the mints of Bristol and Gloucester, for Fitz Hamon held both. Therefore both mints after many years' abeyance reopen with type IV (1121-1123), which is exactly the date of the creation of the Earldom.

Unless, therefore, Robert received two charters within two years, which is not very probable, the missing charter of creation of the Earldom must also have been that of

confirmation in Fitz Hamon's Honour after his marriage. Fortunately, Mr. Round has deduced the date of this Creation Charter to the period between April 1121 and June 1123, which is remarkably corroborated by the coins. May one suggest, therefore, that Henry held his Easter Court at Berkeley in 1121, expressly to celebrate this marriage, which perhaps was at the Abbey of Tewkesbury, built by Mabel's father; and that the confirmation charter created the Earldom of Gloucester, and was granted at the Court at Gloucester held on February 2nd, 1123, which is within the limits of time so ably defined by Mr. Round?

Before the close of the issue of type IV, which was probably about Michaelmas, 1123, Earl Robert left England, so the next type 258, which was continued until Christmas, 1125, does not appear at either the Bristol or the Gloucester mint. He returns for a short visit about September, 1126, and is expressly mentioned as being at Bristol to receive the custody of Duke Robert of Normandy. It is now, therefore, that type 265 (1126-1128) is issued at Bristol, but we have no corresponding coinage at Gloucester. On January 1st following, he is at Henry's Court at Westminster, and soon afterwards escorts his half-sister to Anjou, so his visit to Bristol was probably only for the above-mentioned special purpose, and did not influence the Gloucester coinage.

From 1129 to 1133 he is resident in England, and types 262 (1128-1131) and 255 (1131-1135) appear on the coins of both Bristol and Gloucester. Poor Chatterton was not very far from the truth when he invented the record that "Robert Rouse, Erle of Gloucester, had hys Mynte at Brystowe, and coyned the best Monie of anie of the Baronnes"!

Coins were struck at Bristol in the succeeding reigns of Stephen and Henry II, and the mint was in operation at various intermittent periods until the reign of William III.

COINS.

✠AILWA[RD ON] BRI : [✠hENR]IEVS RE 262

Watford find. AILWARD = ALFWARD, and a moneyer of this name coined here in Saxon times.

✠EDR[IE]VS : ON : BRISTO : ✠hENRIEVS · R · 265

Spink and Son (Pl. VII, No. 3); from the Montagu, 1896, and Marsham, 1888, Sales. Possibly the Tyssen, 1802, Miles and Brummell, 1850, coin.

This moneyer, as soon as the Bristol mint became dormant in 1127, seems to have gone to Bedford to revive the mint, and struck the same type there. That mint was discontinued about 1128, and we next find him reviving coinage at Hereford in type 262 (1128—1131); where, however, he remains coining 255 (1131—1135) and in the reign of Stephen. That he is the same person is the more likely as Milo, Constable of Gloucester and Sheriff of the shire, was at that time the King's Forester of Hereford, and afterwards Earl of the latter county (see Bedford and Hereford).

[✠EDRIE]VS : ON : BRISTO ✠hENRIEVS R 265

Sale, May, 1873.

✠GERAVD ON : BRIST : ✠hENRIEVS R : 262

Engraved, Withy and Ryall, ii., 7; Snelling, i., 23; and Ruding, Sup., i., 11 (see under Lincoln).

✠HERThIG ON BRI: ✠HENRIEVS REX AN IV

British Museum (Pl. V, No. 12). The termination IG almost invariably stands for ING, e.g., SPETI[N]G, SPRAEHLLI[N]G. Hert-
 hing revived the coinage here after an
 interval of about eighteen years; so, as the
 name was then Kentish, it is probable that
 he came from the Earl's possessions in that
 county.

✠HER.... ON BRIST: ✠HENRIEVS R 262

Hunterian Museum, Glasgow University. [Mr.
 George Macdonald and Dr. Young have
 supplied a complete set of casts of this
 section of the Hunter collection to assist this
 work.]

[✠h]ERT.. ON BRIS 255

Battle find.

✠OSBR: ON BISES ✠HENRI REX 253

See under BISES, p. 117.

✠RICEARD: ON . RIS ✠HENRIEVS: 255

Watford find. A Richard coined here in the
 reign of Henry II, and was, perhaps, the
 "Richard *Aurifaber*" mentioned in that
 king's charter to St. John's Bristol. [As to
 many of these readings of the coins of
 Henry II, see Mr. Nathan Heywood's *Coinage
 of Henry Plantagenet*.]

✠SEIPI ON BRISTO 254

Phare Sale, 1834. The moneyer's name appears
 here as SPEIN under the Williams, and his
 ancestors as SÆPINE and SNEPINE under
 the Saxons.

✠SENPI ON BRISTO 254

Dymock Sale, 1848.

♣TVREhIL: . . . BR . . ♣hENRIEVS: 255

Watford find. TVREhIL (probably from Danish ThVRKEL) continued to coin here in Stephen's reign.

Webb Sale, 1894, £4 10s. 0d. 254

Tyssen Sale, 1802 265

Brumell Sale, 1850, "from the Miles cabinet" 265

Powell Sale, 1877 255

BURY ST. EDMUNDS. See ST. EDMUNDSBURY.

CANTERBURY (KENT).

CANTWARABYRIG, CANTERBYRIG, CÆNTWARABURH, DOROBERNIA; Domesday and Pipe Roll, CANTUARIA; Charters, CANTERBERIA, &c.

"Canterbury was already famous in the time of the Romans," says Camden. It was the *Cair Ceint* of Nennius, the cradle of Christianity in England, the capital of the Saxon kingdom of Kent, and the Metropolitan See of all England. In 839, and again in 851, the city was stormed by the Danes with great slaughter of the inhabitants. In 1009 the city was again threatened by them, but the people of East Kent bought them off by payment of the enormous sum in those days of £3,000. This only induced the Danes to return in the following year, when they plundered and massacred the citizens, and murdered the archbishop because he refused to promise a second ransom.

1066. After the Battle of Hastings, Stigand, the Archbishop, declares for Edgar Atheling, but subsequently submits to William. He had been suspended by Pope Alexander and so did not crown the King. (Orderic.)

1067. Ethelnoth, Governor of Canterbury, accompanies William to Normandy. (Orderic.)
1070. The old Saxon Monastery is destroyed by fire. A few years afterwards Lanfranc, the new Archbishop, founds the Norman Cathedral.
1086. Domesday notes.—In the Confessor's time there were 51 burgesses paying rent service to the King, and in addition 212 who had *sac* and *soc*, and three mills. Then the city was worth £51. Now there are only 19 burgesses paying rent service as [the houses of] 32 are laid waste. Eleven being in [making] the city fosse and others in erecting the castle. The King has *sac* and *soc* from 212 burgesses. The three mills return 108s. and the market 58s. The city is assessed at £50, nevertheless he who holds it returns £30 in bullion and weight (? *blanched*) and £24 by number. In addition to all this the Sheriff has 110s. The *mint* is not mentioned.
1089. Death of Archbishop Lanfranc. The King retained the see until—
1093. Anselm is appointed Archbishop.
- „ William II grants to Anselm a confirmation charter with all the liberties and privileges which Edward the Confessor gave to the Church of Canterbury. These privileges are set out at length, and include those “within the burg and without.” (Fœdera, but erroneously dated 1087.)
- “William Rufus (as it is in the register of St. Augustine's Abbey) gave the City of Canterbury entirely to the Bishops, which they had formerly held only by courtesy.” (Camden.)
1097. October. Anselm quarrels with Rufus and remains in exile in Italy. Meanwhile the King confiscates the revenues.
1100. September. Henry recalls Anselm, and confirms William's Charter of privileges to him. (Monast.)
1101. Anselm supports Henry's cause against Duke Robert. (Orderic.)
1103. Lent. Disagrees with the King as to the latter's temporal powers over the Church, and subsequently with the King's approval again goes to Rome. (Florence.)
1104. Henry forbids his return and confiscates the revenues of the See. (Wendover.)
1107. Anselm returns before August 4th. (Florence.)

1109. April 21st. Death of Anselm. The King retains the revenues for five years.
1114. April 26th. Ralph, Bishop of Rochester, appointed Archbishop at Windsor. (Florence.) He receives his charter of privileges. (Monast.)
1116. After the Nativity of St. Mary (September 8th) Archbishop Ralph sets out for Rome. (Florence.)
Is taken ill on the way and "stayed nearly five years in Normandy." (Orderic.)
1121. January 4th. He returns to Canterbury. (Orderic, cf. Florence.)
1122. October 19th. Death of Ralph.
1123. February 2nd. William de Corbeil appointed Archbishop, at Henry's court at Gloucester. (Florence.)
Visits Rome to receive the pallium, and Henry's court, then in Normandy, on his return, but is again in Canterbury on July 22nd. (Florence.)
1124. Late in the year again visits Henry's Normandy court. (Florence.)
1125. April 12th. Has returned to Canterbury, but in the autumn sets out for Rome. (Florence.)
- 1126—7. Christmas. Again in England, swears fealty of the succession to Matilda and receives a grant of the Castle of Rochester from Henry. (Florence.)
1130. May 4. Lanfranc's Cathedral now completed and dedicated in the King's presence, who holds his court here. (Florence, Saxon Chronicler.)

Pipe Roll notes.—The *firma* of the city is returned at £27 8s. 10d. by weight, and the *auxilium* at £7 14s. 0d., but on the other side larger payments, probably including these and other revenue of the See, are made to the Archbishop. William de Æinesford (Aylesford) pays 9s. on account of the goods of one man who was "disfactus" (the statutory punishment of a moneyer). William de Æinesford had previously been sheriff of Hertford and was now probably deputy sheriff of Kent.

Prior to 1135. Robert, Earl of Gloucester, had received the Constablership of Canterbury Castle from his father Henry I. (Orderic.)

The great antiquity of the coinage at Canterbury has already been referred to under Chapter III, p. 17. By the law of Athelstan the number of moneyers allowed to this mint was increased to seven, namely, four for the King, two

for the archbishop, and one for the abbot (of St. Augustine's); and, judging from our coins, this number seems to have been maintained into the reign of William I.

As appears by the 1093 charter, Edward the Confessor had granted his rights in the city to the then archbishop, and this will account for the absence of any reference to the mint in Domesday. The expression, too, in the Survey, "tam qui tenet [civitatem] nunc reddit," &c., seems to corroborate this, as, from the context, it is scarcely applicable to the Sheriff. Probably the Confessor's charter had never been confirmed by the Conqueror to Lanfranc (although he would coin under his ancient rights), and so there was a doubt as to the legal ownership. But it is at least evident that in 1086 whoever held the city paid a *firma* to the King.

In 1093 Anselm is appointed, and it is submitted that at some time between that year and January 1st, 1096, when William, Bishop of Durham, one of the witnesses, died, must have been the date of the great Canterbury charter. Comparing it with what we know of William II's grant of the city of Bath to Bishop John, the two are very similar; and as John paid £500 for his charter, so the King similarly claimed £1,000 from Anselm, which, however, was refused (Wendover). The charter grants, or rather confirms, to Anselm all the privileges which the Confessor had already granted to his predecessors, and seems to imply that these comprised the whole of the King's rights within the city. This would of course include the four moneyers, who were nominally the King's; and whether Camden refers to this or some other charter or record, he is quite justified in saying, "Rufus gave the city of Canterbury entirely to the [arch]bishops, which they had formerly held only by courtesy." It did

not, however, follow that the archbishop employed them, for no doubt he found the three ecclesiastical moneyers amply sufficient for the striking of any amount of money, and so reaped the more profit by reducing the number. Although seven moneyers were coining here shortly before, from this time to the end of the reign of Henry I only three appear to do so at any one time.

The coinage, too, which had been practically continuous for a great length of time, is now changed, and at once becomes intermittent. This is accounted for by the absence of Anselm during his exiles. The only difficulty is this: Did the Abbot of St. Augustine's exercise his privilege of one moneyer during the Primate's absence? Seemingly he did upon one occasion, but it is not unlikely that he invariably accompanied his archbishop in exile, and usually upon his official journeys.

On Henry's accession Anselm is at once recalled, and, Westminster tells us, "was entirely reconciled to the King." He immediately received his confirmation charter, and types 251 (1100-1102) and 254 (1102-1104) appear.

According to most of our historians Anselm again left England in 1103, but this was with the King's approval, and he was not exiled until the following year. The Abbot of St. Augustine's, therefore, would probably remain in charge of the city, and continue to coin in the interim, under his ancient rights, until 1104. To the abbot, therefore, unless there is an error of a year in the Chronicles—and Westminster, in one passage, seems to imply that Anselm went abroad in 1104—must be attributed the coins of type 253 (1104-1106), struck no doubt in the year 1104.

From this date until the accession of Archbishop Ralph in 1114, we have no Canterbury coins.

Anselm returned in 1107, stricken by age and infirmity, and died early in 1109. Henry had revoked his charter in 1104, and it is possible that he never renewed it in this short period of nineteen months, and no such renewal is recorded.

Between April, 1109, and April, 1114, the King held the revenues of the see in his own hands, and therefore, as this was no longer a royal mint, the invariable rule applied, and no coins were issued.

On April 26th, 1114, Ralph was appointed archbishop at Henry's court at Windsor, and received his confirmation charter about the same date. He at once issues type 267 (1112-1114), probably in the last few months of its currency. This is followed by 266 (1114-1116) and 264 (1116-1119), but as he went abroad in September or October, 1116, the single coin representing the latter must have been struck early in its issue. From October, 1116, to January 4th, 1121 [1120 in the Chronicles, which adopt March 25th as the commencement of the years], Ralph remains abroad, so the intermediate type is absent, and the next which appears at Canterbury is IV (1121-1123), when he is once more within his diocese.

Archbishop Ralph dies in October, 1122, and William de Corbeil succeeds in February, 1123. Although Archbishop William pays two short visits abroad, he is in England during most of the currency of type 258 (1123-1125), which now appears. In the autumn of 1125 he, for the second time, journeys to Rome, but returns at Christmas, and remains in England during the remainder of the reign. Hence types 265 (1126-1128), 262 (1128-1131), and 255 (1131-1135), follow from Canterbury as a matter of course.

It is probable that the Pipe Roll entry of 1129-30

accounting for 9s., now received for the goods forfeited on the conviction of the man who was "disfactus," referred to a conviction of the years 1126-1128. As previously remarked, this term seems to be then specially used in connection with the punishment of a moneyer. Therefore, as the name of the moneyer "EDPINE" appears on type 265 (1126-1128) and then disappears, it is not unlikely that he was the victim.

Subject to possible correction when the next reign is dealt with, it would appear that the sole right of coinage at Canterbury remained vested in the archbishops until the time of John. That king, who was no friend to the Church, by charter upon his accession revived three of the royal moneyers here, and confirmed to the then archbishop only his ancient right to three moneyers; which, however, seems to have been the full number now employed by the Church at one time. But the monopoly ceased, and the profits were again divided between Church and State.

Coinage here was continued until the reign of Edward VI.

COINS.

✠A^hEMV[ND]. ✠ON LANT [h]ENR . . 258

Hunterian Museum, Glasgow University.
Pl. VI, No. 7. Engraved, Withy and Ryall, ii., 15. *Obv.*—A quatrefoil before the face.
Rev.—"✠ON LANT" in the inner circle. Withy's engraver has "imagined" the last two letters of the moneyer's name into A^hEMVAL. The next two coins, however, prove the name to be A(G)^hEMVND. This family had been moneyers at Lincoln in Saxon times, and up to the year 1102, but at no other place. Hence, as Archbishop William was instrumental in the appointment of Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln and had

consecrated him at Canterbury on July 22nd, 1123, it is not improbable that the Archbishop obtained AGHEMVND from that city. See Lincoln.

✠AGHEMVND ON : LAN : ✠hENR . LVS 255

Watford find ; 2 specimens.

✠AhEM CAN . hENRIE . . 255

F. Spicer. Mr. Spicer has contributed many readings of the William coins and Norman charters.

✠EDPINE ON ENTN ✠HNRELEXNI 251

J. G. Murdoch. (Pl. II, No. 1.) From the Whitbourn, 1869, £4 10s. 0d. ; Marsham, 1885, £13 5s. 0d. ; Montagu, 1896, £11 15s. 0d., and probably Tyssen, 1802, Sales. An EDPINE coined here for Canute and Harold II and an ELDPINE, probably this moneyer, for Rufus.

✠EDPINE ON ENTN 251

Sale, June, 1855.

✠EDPINE ON LATN 251

Sale, January, 1860.

✠EDPINE ON LANTA ✠hENRIEVS R : 265

L. A. Lawrence. 20 grs. The moneyer was probably son of the above. See page 134.

✠EDPINE ON LANTA ✠hENRIEVS R 265

British Museum.

✠GREGORI : ON LK : ✠hENRIEVS : 264

British Museum. 18½ grs. Engraved, Ruding, Sup., i., 12. The name, Gregory, is similarly spelt in the *Rotuli Hundredorum*, 1272.

✠GRIM ON LTN ✠hENRIEVS R: 262

Engraved, Withy and Ryall, ii., 10 (corrected from ✠ORIM, &c.), probably the coin engraved, Speed's Chronicle, 1611, p. 455, as ORIM . . ON : S . . . Grim was a common twelfth-century name, but Orim is unknown.

✠ORIM. See ✠GRIM.

✠PERIN ON LANT ✠HENRI RE+ 253

W. C. Boyd. 20 grs. (Pl. II, No. 14). The name PERIN occurs in the twelfth and thirteenth century Rolls, hence the first letter is not *p*.

✠R : ODBERT : DN LANTA · ✠hENRIEVS : 255

British Museum. From the Durrant Sale, 1847. This moneyer continued to coin here for Stephen. The position of the colons in his name is unusual on English coins, though common on Scotch of the period. They were probably so placed to fill in a space on completion of the legend and thus disclose that the letters were not necessarily cut in their literary sequence. Robert was probably father of "✠ROGER OF R" (ROGER FILIVS ROBERTI) who coined here for Henry II.

✠RODBE . . . N LANT ✠h 255

Watford find. 6 specimens.

. . . . BERD : ON : LANT ✠hENRIEV : 255

Watford find.

. RODBERT hEN 255

Watford find.

. RODBER 255

Kennard Sale, 1892, from the Linton find.

. RT : ON LANT : ✠ . . NRIEV . 255

Watford find. 8 specimens.

... DB... . . . AN: ✚ hENRIE: 255

Major H. W. Morrieson.

..... RT: ON EA. 255

Spink and Son.

✚... DBE... ON EAN ✚ hEN... VS 255

Royal Mint. Mr. W. J. Hocking has supplied particulars of the coins in this collection.

✚ SMIERNE ON EAN ✚ HENRIEVS REX 251

Engraved, Withy and Ryall, ii., 5. This moneyer coined as SIMIER for the Williams.

✚ WILLELMVS . N EAN 255

Kennard Sale, 1892. From the Linton find.
The moneyer continued to coin here in the two following reigns.

✚ WILLELMVS .. EAN: ✚ hEN..... 255

F. E. Bigge. 22 grs.

✚ WILLEM: ON . ANT RIE 255

W. J. Andrew. From the Allen Sale, 1898.
Obv.—Bust very large. *Rev.*—Design larger than usual and pellet in centre of the cross.

. WIL... M... .. EANP . h... RI... 255

Watford find.

✚ PINEDA ON ENTLE ✚ HENRI RE 254

W. J. Andrew. The family of this name (variously spelt) had been coining here since the days of Canute. (See Bath.)

✚ PINEDEI: ON 267

Bari find, Italy.

✠PINE . . I . . . NP ✠hENRIEVS RE . . . IV

FitzWilliam Museum, Cambridge. Mr. F. Jenkins has contributed readings and casts of the coins in the Cambridge Museums.

✠PINEDAI ON LANDP ✠hENRIEVS R 262

W. S. Lincoln & Son.

✠PINEDA ON LANDP ✠hENRIEVS R 262

British Museum.

✠PINEDAI : ON : LANTVA ✠hEN . . LVS : 255

L. A. Lawrence. 21 grs. (Pl. VII, No. 12.)
From the Allen Sale, 1898, and probably Tyssen, 1802.

✠PINEDAI ON LANT 255

Lewin Sheppard Sale, 1861.

✠P I : ON LANTVA . hE . . IEVS 255

British Museum. Engraved Hawkins, 255.

. AI ON LAN RIEVS 255

Watford find.

✠PVLFRIE ON ENT ✠HNRI REX NI 251

British Museum. From the Durrant Sale, 1847.
The moneyer coined here for the Williams.

✠PVLFPINE ON : LAN ✠hENRIE REX 266

C. M. Crompton Roberts. 20 grs. From Sale, March 1894. The obverse does not show the hand pointing. A PVLFPINE coined here for the Williams.

. . . . FPIN ON LAN 255

Watford find.

✠PVLSI ON ENTLEI ✠HENRI REX E 253

British Museum. From the Montagu 1896
Sale. The great Cardinal at first spelt his
name Wulsey.

..... ON EAN ...NBIE... 255

Hunterian Museum, Glasgow University.

Tyssen Sale, 1802. 3 specimens 255

" " " 1 specimen IV

The coin of type 256, queried by Hawkins to this
mint, is of Thetford.

CARLISLE (CUMBERLAND).

CÆRLEYE, CARLEOLIUM, CARDOYL, LUGUBALIA; Pipe Roll,
CHAERLEOIL and CAERLEOLIUM; Charters, CARLIOLUM, &c.

According to Nennius, "Cair-lulid" was one of the
thirty-three later British cities, and we know that it
was one of the principal northern strongholds of the
Romans. Their walls were still standing when in the
seventh century Egfrid, King of Northumbria, gave the
town to St. Cuthbert, whence it subsequently became
part of the See of Durham. In 875 it was devastated by
the Danes, who left it a heap of ashes and ruins, and such
it remained until after the Norman Conquest.

1092. "The King (William II) went into Northumbria
and restored the city which is called in the British
tongue CAIRLEU and in Latin LUGUBALIA, and
built a castle there; for this city, like some others in
that quarter, had been laid in ruins by the heathen
Danes two hundred years before, and had been unin-
habited up to this time." (Florence and cf. Wen-
dover under 1093.)

Rufus commenced the Norman keep and appointed
Walter (probably Walter Fitz Gilbert de Clare) cas-
tellan.

1122. Henry I ordered a wall to be built round the
town. (S. of Durham.)

1130. Pipe Roll notes.—Carlisle is in the Royal Manor. The burgesses are allowed £14 16s. 6d. and £6 2s. 0d. towards building the wall round the town. William Fitz Baldwin (probably Fitz Gilbert) seems to have been castellan, as he farmed the “*gardinum*” of the King at Carlisle and payments are made to the garrison. The Canons of St. Mary receive benefits. The “*burgesses of Carlisle*” account for one hundred shillings, the previous year’s rent of the *silver mine*, but “*William and Hildret*” owe forty pounds for the current year’s rent of it. Hildret had been Sheriff, but his son Odard had now succeeded to that office.
1133. Henry established a new bishopric at Carlisle and appointed Athelwulf, prior of St. Oswald’s, Bishop. Athelwulf immediately placed regular canons in the church and “conferred many honours upon it” (cf. Torigni, Wendover, &c.).
1133. “At this time also a vein of silver had been discovered at Carlisle whence prospectors (“*investigatores*”), who sought it in the bowels of the earth, paid in royalties to King Henry five hundred pounds a year.” (Torigni.)

Thus in forty years Carlisle, phoenix-like, rose from its ashes to be the See of a bishopric, a royal manor held by castle-guard, and the centre of the principal silver mines in England. Prior to Henry’s reign we have no coins of this town, but now at some period the privilege of coining is granted, and it is not very difficult to surmise when. The Honour of Carlisle was held by Ralph de Meschines until 1120, but upon his succession to the Earldom of Chester in that year he surrendered it to the King, and it thus became a royal manor (see the Wetherall Chronicle and Charters). In 1122 Henry visited Durham, and prior to that date, owing probably to the disfavour of Ranulf, bishop of that city, there had also been no coinage at Durham, for it is unlikely that any confirmation charter of the Palatine rights up to that time had been granted to the bishop by Henry. Nor, in fact, had any coins been

issued, except from the mint of York, in the whole of Northumbria. Thus, as the "Dialogue of the Exchequer" explains :—

"Certain counties from the time of King Henry I, and in the time of King Henry II, could lawfully offer for payment (in taxes) coins of any kind of money provided they were of silver and did not differ from the lawful weight; because indeed, by ancient custom not themselves having moneyers, they sought their coins from all sides (Scotland); such are Northumberland and Cumberland."

The expression in the 1130 Roll, "burgesses of Carlisle," shows that at some time prior to that date they had received a charter of incorporation, and as Henry's direction to build the town wall was coincident with the date of his visit to Durham, we may take it that in response to a petition, he then granted a charter to them upon that condition. Now follows the discovery of the silver mine. It will be noticed that Robert de Torigni uses the past tense in speaking of this under the year 1133, after recounting the establishment of the See, and the Pipe Roll clearly shows that the mine had been worked as early as 1128-1129, for arrears of royalties are paid for that year. That the mine only commenced its output about 1128 seems inferred from the fact that its royalties were only £5 in that year, £40 in the next, and £500 in 1133. Not only because it was within a royal manor, but by ancient custom the mine was the King's, and up to 1129 it would appear to have been farmed to "the burghers of Carlisle," but in that year Hildret, the late sheriff, and "William," had it. It is probable that only now, in 1129, when the rent springs from £5 to £40, the *Royal mint* is established, and that the mint and mine were farmed together to Hildret and William under charter from the King, for in 1157-58 the Pipe Roll tells us that

William Fitz-Erembald paid 100 marks of silver for rent of the mine, and in the 1163-64 Roll he is styled "William Monetarius." This William ceased to farm it in 1179, so it is just possible that he was the "William" of 1130.

The coins of Carlisle, therefore, commence with type 262 (1128-1131), but only upon one of this type is the moneyer's name discernible: it is DURANT. A DURAN family coined at York in Saxon times, so as the name only appears at Carlisle on the first type, it is not unlikely that Durant was merely sent from York for a short period to establish the new venture. He, or his son, is probably the Durant who held lands at "Coteby," mentioned in Henry II's charter to St. Mary's, York. After him, however, we find the name of EREBALD on the next type, 255 (1131-1135). He is, of course, the EREMBALD just mentioned, and we find his name upon the coins from now to about the middle of Stephen's reign. Then WILLIAM [Fitz-EREBALD] appears, and continues the coinage into the reign of Henry II. So we have an unbroken sequence of father and son coining at Carlisle from 1131 to 1179, not only recorded upon our coins but certified by our records. Thus the mint was allowed but one moneyer at a time, and that moneyer, in Henry II's reign at least, worked the silver mine. Coinage here was continued until the reign of Henry III.

COINS.

♣DVRANT : ON : EARLI : ♣HENRIEVS RE 262

J. G. Murdoch. (Pl. VII, No. 6.) From the Montagu, 1896 (£10 10s. 0d.); Martin, 1859 (£5 15s. 0d.); Murchison, 1864 (£6 6s. 0d.); April, 1873, and Brice collections. It is said to have been Mr. Cuff's, but it does not appear in his catalogue. As to this moneyer, see above.

..... ON EARLI 262

Dean of St. Patrick's Sale, 1842.

[✠E]REB[ALD : O]N : EAR 255

L. A. Lawrence. 22 grs. From Sale, December, 1891. As to this moneyer, see p. 142.

CHESTER.

LEIGECEASTER, LEILESTER, LIEESTER, LIEHECESTER, LEGACESTER, CESTER ; Domesday, CESTRE ; Pipe Roll, CESTRIA.

From the time of the Roman conquest of Britain to the wars of Charles I, Chester seems always to have had the honour, or misfortune, of a prominent position in the internal military history of England. According to Nennius it was the Cair Legion of the later Britons. In 607, the Saxon Chronicle records that "Ethelfrith led his army to Chester, and there slew numberless Welshmen (Britons) also two hundred Druids." The same authority tells us that in 894 the Danes fled before Alfred and Ethelred to "a western city in *Wirheal* (Wirrall), which is called *Legaceaster*, and thence into Wales." It is described as a fortress, and Florence adds that it was at that time deserted, but in 908 "the city called in the British tongue *Karlegion*, and in the Saxon *Legeceaster*, was rebuilt by order of Ethered the Ealdorman and Ethelfleda." Accordingly, as the Saxon or Danish authority was for the time uppermost in the north, Chester was taken and retaken, and when the Danish struggles were over, it was ever an object of assault to its ancient possessors, the Welsh Britons.

1066. Harold's widow retires here.

1070. Chester, the last city to stand out against William, is taken by him and the country ravaged. (Orderic, &c.) He founds the castle. (Orderic.)

1071. Earldom of the County Palatine with titular sovereign rights granted to Hugh d'Avranches.

1075. See of Lichfield translated here.

1081. Earl Hugh witnesses the St. Edmundsbury charter.

1082. Witnesses one of the Durham charters. (Fœdera.)

1086. Domesday notes.—In the time of the Confessor 431 houses paid tax and in addition the Bishop had 56. The city then paid $10\frac{1}{2}$ marks of silver, but afterwards a *firma* of £45 and 3 martin skins, two-thirds to the King and one-third to the Earl (Gherbod). Every hide in the county contributed a man to repair the walls or bridge.

“In the time of King Edward there were 7 moneyers in the city, who paid £7 to the King and Earl, beyond their *firma* (rent), when the money was changed”—“*Quando moneta vertebatur.*”

When Earl Hugh received the city it was not worth more than £30, for it was greatly wasted. There were 205 fewer houses than in King Edward's time (destroyed by William in 1070). “Now—1086—there are only as many as he found. Mundret held the city of the Earl for £70 and 1 mark of gold and had all pleas of the county except Inglefield.”

1088. Earl Hugh adheres to Rufus in Odo's rebellion.

1091. Is in Normandy, and concerned in Henry's short war against Rufus, but makes his peace.

1092. At Chester and restores the monastery of St. Werburgh. (Orderic.)

1097. Joins William's army in Normandy. (Orderic.)

1100. In Normandy at the time of William's death, but after putting his affairs in order he hastened to England, offered due submission to the new King “and received *confirmation* in his possessions and all his dignities with royal gifts.” (Orderic.)

1101. Earl Hugh nominally becomes a monk and, after a long illness, dies at Chester, July 27th. He is buried in the Monastery of St. Werburgh. (Orderic.)

Richard his son succeeds, but Orderic mentions that he was then a minor, and as he also says he only held the Earldom for nearly 12 years, Richard could not have been invested by Henry until about 1108.

1102. The Earl of Morton assailed Richard, Earl of Chester, the son of Hugh, in Normandy, plundering his possessions, “the Earl himself being at that time a minor and under the protection and guardianship of the King.” (Malmesbury.)

1104. Earl Richard is at Henry's court in Normandy. (Orderic.) As a minor he would be attached to the court.
1113. In Normandy, and witnesses the charter to St. Evroul. (Orderic.)
1118. In Normandy, witnesses the Savigny charter. (Round.)
1119. In Normandy, marries Matilda of Blois.
1120. November 25th. Sails from Normandy and is drowned in the "White ship." Ranulf I, called Le Meschin or "of Bayeux," his cousin, succeeds. He had married, early in the century, Lucia, widow of Roger de Roumare. (See under Lincoln.)
1120. "Ranulf of Bayeux obtained the earldom of Chester with all the patrimony of Earl Richard, being the next heir as nephew of Matilda, Earl Hugh's sister." (Orderic.)
Ranulf is in England, for he attends the January, 1121, Council at London (Round), and exchanges some of the lands of his wife with the King in return for the earldom. (Orderic.)
1121. Chester is raided by the Welsh. (Hoveden.)
1123. Earl Ranulf accompanies Henry and Robert, Earl of Gloucester, to Normandy (S. of Durham), and is castellan of the Tower of Evreux during the winter, 1123-4. (Orderic.)
1124. Commands Henry's forces at the Battle of Bourg-Théroulde, in Normandy. (Orderic.)
1128. January 27. Death of Earl Ranulf I, who is succeeded by his son Ranulf II or "de Gernons."
1129. The See is translated to Coventry. (Florence.)
1130. Pipe Roll notes.—Dr. Hunter suggests that the Chester portion is lost, but, surely, a County Palatine "held by the Earl as the King held his own honours" would have its own Court of Exchequer. Hence, as the new Earl could not account to himself at Chester for his relief upon his succession, he is debited with it in the Roll under Lincoln, where his mother's hereditary estates were. The late Earl is but recently dead, for his widow, "Lucia Comitissa Cestriæ," owes 500 marks of silver that she should not be married again for five years. This refers to the King's privilege of bestowing the hands of heiresses upon his favourites and receiving fees in return from the husbands. (See Wallingford.) That she owes it shows that it was the previous year's assessment, and there-

fore Ranulf I died before Michaelmas, 1129. She accounts for £266 13s. 4d. in respect of [her dower in] the land of her father in succession to her husband, and for various other sums. The new Earl, who evidently is in England, amongst other items owes £1,000 "de debito" of his father for the land of Earl Hugh (the earldom of Chester), and 500 marks of silver according to the agreement which the King made between him and his mother concerning her dower. (William de Roumare, Lucia's eldest son and heir to the Lincoln earldom, had rebelled because the King would not listen to his claim "to the land of his mother which Ranulf of Bayeux, his step-father, had exchanged with the King for the earldom of Chester." —Orderic.)

1131. Earl Ranulf witnesses Henry's charter to Salisbury at the Northampton council on September 8th. (Round.)

1136. Leads a disastrous expedition against the Welsh. (Hagulstad.)

Although not specified in the Law of Athelstan, the name of this town first appears on the coins of his reign—that is, soon after the restoration of the town by Ethelfleda. Coins of Eadmund and Eadgar are in evidence of the Chester mint, and also of all the latter's successors, to the close of the Saxon dynasty. Ruding naturally points out the fact that although the mint is mentioned in Domesday under the Confessor, as quoted above, it is not noticed as existing in the reign of William I.

When William, in 1070, founded the castle, he granted the city to Gherbod, the Fleming, but Gherbod soon went abroad and suffered a long imprisonment (Orderic). Whether he was anything more than castellan and lord of the city is doubtful, for his *tertius denarius* seems to have been that of the city only. But in 1071 William granted unto "Hugh D'Avranches and his heirs the whole county of Chester, to hold as freely by his sword as he himself held England by his crown." How, there-

fore, could Domesday possibly include in the King's revenue the rent and fees of a mint already granted to the Earl? Perhaps this sword of state was the one referred to below.

The coins we have of this mint under the Confessor exactly corroborate Domesday's statement that there were seven moneyers here at that time. But as half the town had been destroyed in 1070, Earl Hugh seems to have reduced their number to three, and no doubt that number was ample in the desolated condition in which the north of England then was. One of the others, however, he removed to Rhuddlan, but there the Earl had only a half share in the mint, so its revenue is brought into the Domesday accounts to be divided between King and earl.

On Henry's accession, Earl Hugh was abroad, but presently returned, and immediately after receiving "confirmation in his possessions and all his dignities" died, July 27th, 1101. There would, therefore, scarcely be time for type 251 (1100-1102) to be issued, even if the earl had not taken "the monastic habit in the Abbey at Chester." But a coin of that type is assigned to Chester in the Montagu Catalogue, and is here given under this mint and under Lewes (which see), as it may equally well be assigned to either. It may be of interest to notice that the lettering on this type, 251, is almost identical with the inscription "HVL \diamond E \diamond MEZ" upon the blade of the sword in the British Museum, at present attributed to *either* this earl or the Earl Hugh of Henry II's time.

Earl Richard succeeds but is a minor, then aged seven (Chronicle of St. Werburg), and therefore his estates and himself would be in wardship to the King. In such cases coinage was never continued; *e.g.*, the parallel cases of Bristol, Ipswich, etc.

In 1104 Richard, still a minor, is recorded as one of those who "honourably received" the King upon his arrival in Normandy. The moral influence of his presence there had probably been rendered advisable in consequence of the Earl of Morton's raid in 1102. He, however, returns to England with the King, for on Whit Sunday, May 13th, 1106, he is with his mother at Abingdon, and under her auspices grants a charter to the monastery in memory of Earl Hugh. From that date to 1119 his name is absent from our English chronicles and charters, but as meanwhile he witnesses at least six of the latter in Normandy he may be presumed to have remained abroad. It was, however, necessary before his marriage to Matilda of Blois, in 1119, that he should receive his confirmation charter of the Palatine Earldom, and so, although he is a witness to the Savigny Charter in 1118, we find him returning to England early in 1119 to take seizin of his hereditary estates. This is proved by his own confirmation charter to St. Werburg's Monastery, dated at Grantham, 1119. Immediately, therefore, type 263 (1119-1121) appears at Chester, being the first coinage struck in that city after an interval of eighteen years. At Grantham he was probably returning to Normandy, for he was married there in the same year, and he and his bride perished in the wreck of the unfortunate White Ship, November 25th, 1120.

Ranulf I succeeds, but as his descent was from the sister of the first earl, and therefore gave no claim *de jure*, he only obtained the earldom upon condition of the surrender to the King of his Cumberland lordship. (See Carlisle, p. 140.) As he attests a charter at the January Council at London in 1121 as Earl of Chester, he probably had already received his "confirmation," and there-

fore continued to issue type 263 (1119-1121), which is followed by IV (1121-1123).

In June, 1123, Earl Ranulf accompanies Henry to Normandy, and perforce the coinage promptly stops. He is still there in 1124, and died before 1129—probably in 1128—so since neither his return nor his death is mentioned by any English chronicler (except that the Chronicle of St. Werburg gives the day of the month, viz., January 27th, though not the year, which, however, was probably 1128), he may be presumed to have remained and died abroad, where his name is associated with several Normandy charters. The Chester mint, therefore, was in abeyance from 1123 to 1128.

The Pipe Roll shows that Ranulf II was in England and had already succeeded to the earldom in 1129, also that he was then paying his relief to the crown, and so had received his confirmation charter. The mint reopens, and type 262 (1128-1131) is issued. Ranulf is certainly here in 1131, and in fact remains in England all the rest of his life, so type 255 (1131-1135) follows as a matter of course.

The old mint of Chester was in operation until the early years of Henry II, when it was discontinued. It was, however, more than once revived for a short period in later times.

COINS.

✠AILMA[R] . N : LESTR ✠hENRIEVS : 255

Watford find. The moneyer continued to coin here for Stephen, and Alymer is a Chester name to-day.

✠ERISTRET : ON : LEE : ✠hENRIEVS RE 262

British Museum. Engraved Ruding, Sup., ii., 1, 5, and Hawkins, 262. EILLE coined

here for Harold I, LILLEERIST for Harthacnut, and now ERISTRET. As to the evolution of these compound family names see Introduction to the London mint. This note alone should clear the vexed question, as to which are Chester and which Leicester coins, for the first name is followed by ON LEICE, the second by ON LEGECE and LEGIE and the last by ON CES which obviously represents the Chester mint. Christy is a Chester name to-day.

✠ ERISTRET ON CES 262

Sale, March, 1871.

✠ ERISTRET : ON : CES : ✠ hENRIEVS RE 262

J. G. Murdoch.

✠ ERITEL : ON LEI ENRIEVS REX : IV
AN

British Museum. Pl. V, No. 11. The moneyer is probably for ERI[S]TEL.

✠ GILLEMOR : ON : CES : S RE 262

Watford find. LILLEVINE ON LEH for Chester under the Confessor; GILLEMOR ON CES, Henry I. See ERISTRET.

✠ ThVRBVRN : ON : CES ✠ hENRIEVS 255

Montagu Sale, 1897. Engraved *Num. Chron.*, 1883, vii., 1. From the Linton find and Mr. Wakeford's collection. Thorburn is still a Chester name.

✠ ThVRB . . N : ONCES ✠ hEN . . EVS : 255

Watford find. 2 specimens.

. TVRRET ON CESTER 262

Sale, April, 1874. Perhaps for ERISTRET.

✠PINNRIED ON LEI ✠HNRI REX N 251

J. Verity. From the Durrant, 1847, £7 13s. 0d.;
Wigan, Brice, and Montagu, 1896, £5 5s. 0d.,
collections. See Lewes.

✠ RA : ON : LEh . hENRI REX 263

Webb Sale, 1894, £8. From the Martin,
1859, £8 5s. 0d.; Murchison, 1864,
£5 7s. 6d.; Whitbourn, 1869, £2 10s. 0d.,
and Neck collections.

. . . . RIL . N LEST ✠hENRIEVS R 262

A. A. Banes. Possibly, ERISTRIE.

Tyssen Sale, 1802. IV

The second coin of type 263 in the Webb Catalogue 1894,
misread ON LEILEESTRE, is a Winchester coin.

CHICHESTER (SUSSEX).

CISECEASTER, CISSACEASTER, CICCASTRIA; Domesday, CICESTRE;
Pipe Roll, CICESTRIA.

Chichester was a Roman station of considerable importance, and the rectangular plan of its streets to-day is a survival of the original design of its founders. In 477, the Saxon chiefs Ælla and Cissa landed on the coasts of Sussex, and there seems little reason to doubt that they took Chichester, and that the latter made it his capital, hence *Cissa-ceaster*. As such it remained the capital of the South Saxons until, after being for a time annexed to Mercia, that kingdom of the Heptarchy was subdued by Egbert in 823. In 895 the men of Chichester "slew many hundreds of the Danes and took some of their ships" (Sax. Chron.). Chichester prospered, and was a thriving city at the date of the Conquest.

1068. "King William gave to Roger de Montgomery first the castle of Arundel and the city of Chichester"—with the earldoms of Chichester and Arundel—"and afterwards the earldom of Shrewsbury." (Orderic.)
1070. About this time Stigand, Bishop of Sussex, removes the seat of the bishopric from Selsey to Chichester, and Earl Roger grants him the whole of the south-west quarter of the city as a site for the cathedral and palace. Earl Roger founds the Norman castle.
1086. Domesday notes.—In King Edward's time, the city contained about 100 houses. Now the city is in the hands of Earl Roger, and there are 60 houses more than there were before, and one mill. The city rendered £15 to the Confessor and £10—the *tertius denarius* of the city—to the then Earl. "Now it is worth £25, and yet it returns £35." The *mint* is not mentioned.
1088. Earl Roger in arms at Arundel secretly for Robert of Normandy, but makes peace with William, and hastens to Normandy to oppose Duke Robert. (Florence and Orderic.)
1091. Ralph Luffa appointed Bishop of Chichester.
1095. July 27th. Death of Earl Roger at Shrewsbury. (Orderic.) His sons succeed: Hugh de Montgomery to his English earldom, and Robert de Belême to his Norman possessions. (Orderic.)
1098. Earl Hugh is slain in an affray on the Welsh coast. (Orderic.) Robert de Belême pays £3,000 to William II for succession to his brother's English earldoms.
1100. Orderic mentions Earl Robert in the same clause with the Earl of Chester as both being in Normandy at the date of Henry's accession; but putting their affairs in order, they hastened to England "and received confirmation in their possessions and all dignities with royal gifts."
1101. His visit to England seems merely to have been to Henry's court to tender his submission to the new King, for we find him immediately afterwards again in Normandy receiving a grant of the castle of Argentan from Duke Robert. (Orderic.)
July. He is once more in England, and welcomes Duke Robert upon his invasion. (Orderic.)
1102. Earl Robert is summoned to court to answer charges of treason, but fortifies Arundel, Bridgnorth,

and Shrewsbury. These, however, are ultimately surrendered, Earl Robert banished, and his estates confiscated. His subsequent career will be found under Wareham. Orderic comments upon the fact that his sons were never reinstated in their father's English estates.

- 1108. The first cathedral now consecrated.
- 1114. May 5th. "The city of Chichester, together with the principal monastery—the cathedral—was, through culpable carelessness, destroyed by fire." (Hoveden.)
- 1123. December 14th. Death of Bishop Ralph, "in whose place Pelochin was appointed; a great rogue who was consequently deposed." (Huntingdon's letter to Walter.)
- 1125. Sigfred, Abbot of Glastonbury, appointed Bishop whilst with Henry in Normandy. He returns and is consecrated, April 12th, at Lambeth. (Huntingdon and Florence.)
- 1130. Pipe Roll notes.—The Bishop still owes £44 15s. 0d. for the old *firma* of the Abbey of Glastonbury, and receives a grant of 46s. 8d. from the revenue of Sussex. William Pont de l'Arche returns the accounts for the Honour of Arundel, which is evidently in the King's hands, and £22 7s. 8d. is spent on the castle. Brand the moneyer accounts for £20, that he might not be "*disfactus*" with the other moneyers. He pays £4 and still owes £16, and the sheriff accounts for one mark of silver from "the fees of the moneyers of Chichester."

The Law of Athelstan granted one moneyer to Chichester, but no coins bearing the name of this mint are known earlier than of the reign of Ethelred II. It had then acquired three moneyers coining at a time, and this number—though only one appears on Harthacnut's coins—seems to have been maintained through all the succeeding Saxon reigns.

In 1068, William I granted the earldom and city of Chichester to Roger de Montgomery, and therefore the mint also. Hence the latter does not come under the scope of Domesday. The mint remained the Earl's privi-

lege until his death in 1095. Earl Hugh, his successor, probably obtained a confirmation charter from Rufus, and on his death in 1098, Robert de Belême certainly did. During these reigns the same number of moneyers was continued under the Montgomerys.

When Henry came to the throne Earl Robert was in Normandy, and probably did not attend the Court to pay his homage before Christmas 1100 or Easter 1101. At some time in 1101 he was in Normandy again, and in the summer with Duke Robert in Hampshire. Immediately after this, in preparation for the coming struggle, we find him surrounding the castle of Bridgnorth with a lofty wall (Florence), and then came his great rebellion, his fall and banishment in 1102. So it does not appear that he was at Chichester after Henry's accession, nor, with the exception of the more than doubtful one of Tewkesbury, has his name been found upon any English charter of this reign. He was Duke Robert's faithful partisan throughout his life, and would never have condescended to issue Henry's money. Therefore no coins of this period appear from the mint.

On the confiscation of Robert de Belême's honours in 1102, the city and mint of Chichester fell into the King's hands, but that fact no more constituted the latter a royal mint than it gave Chichester the privileges of a royal city. The invariable result followed—the mint became dormant, and seems to have remained so until some time between 1112 and 1114, for the first six types of Henry's reign do not appear upon its coins. The question arises: In whom was the right of coinage revived in 1112-1114? We must now look forward a hundred years, when we find that King John in 1204 ordered that the Bishop's coins should continue current alone in this city until money should be

struck in the King's mint; after which both the regal and episcopal money should be current together. In the same year William Fitz Otho—the hereditary die engraver—was directed to supply to the Bishop one die for his mint (probably the usual confirmation grant). But in the following year the King granted to the Bishop two of his (the King's) dies in that city, and the mint with all its appurtenances and liberties, at a rent of thirty marks for one year, and commanded William Fitz Otho to deliver the dies accordingly.

From this it is quite clear that the proper number of moneyers at Chichester was then still *three*, but prior to 1205 two of them had been dormant, though the Bishop's moneyer was then coining. King John evidently at first intended to revive the two moneyers and establish a royal mint, but he thought better of it, perhaps because he had no precedent for converting a chartered into a royal mint, and so he granted the remaining two moneyers to the Bishop, thus giving him the whole mint.

From 1114 to 1204, with the exception of two comparatively short breaks, we have a sequence of coins issued from the Chichester mint. During the whole of that period, so far as we can judge from the coins, there was never more than one moneyer coining here at any time, and as we know that prior to 1205 there was only the Bishop's moneyer coining here, it is fair inference that all these intermediate coins were struck by the Bishops of Chichester, and that the two nominal moneyers' dies remained dormant from the date of the confiscation of Robert de Belême's privileges in 1102 to the year 1205.

In May, 1114, the city and cathedral were destroyed by fire, but we are told by several of our historians that by the munificence of King Henry, who was his personal friend,

Bishop Ralph immediately rebuilt the cathedral. The Bishop already owned a considerable portion of the city, but he does not seem to have ever had a moneyer in it prior to about this date. But from 1114 to the exact date of his death we have one moneyer coining here in every type, and only one type missing. The inference, therefore, is that Henry, to recoup his friend for the misfortune of the fire, granted him a charter of perhaps the remainder of the city, and in any case gave him the privilege of one moneyer at Chichester, for the most natural method of benefiting the Bishop would be by charter of some of the privileges so recently confiscated. The argument that these coins were ecclesiastical in their origin seems supported by the annulets which appear as ornaments upon some, if not all, of them, for all have not been examined. (See under Reading, Peterborough, York, &c.)

The only types, therefore, known to us of the Chichester mint during this reign are 267 (1112-1114), 266 (1114-1116), 264 (1116-1119), and IV. (1121-1123). In 1123 Bishop Ralph died, and perhaps the remainder of the city was granted to Queen Adeliza with the Honour of Arundel, for her second husband, William de Albini, as early as 1141 styled himself Earl of Sussex, and shortly afterwards Earl of Chichester, as proved by Mr. Round in "*Geoffrey de Mandeville*." Chichester was not in the King's hands in 1130, or its revenues would have been credited in the Pipe Roll.

The entry in the Roll concerning Brand, the moneyer, is interesting, as his name appears on the Chichester coins of types 267 (1112-1114), 266 (1114-1116), and IV (1121-1123), but not when the mint re-opens in Stephen's reign. Just as the Bishop's debt for the old *firma* of the Abbey

of Glastonbury has been brought forward from the year 1125, so Brand's fine may similarly be from the same year. He is paying it by instalments, this year £4, and we find, when in later times we have a sequence of the Rolls, that such fines were often carried on for several years. He still owes £16 that he should not be "*disfactus* with the other moneyers." Surely this means "with the other moneyers" at the great Inquisition of Christmas, 1125. Brand, as a servant of the Bishop, would no doubt be slightly educated and able to plead "benefit of clergy." Hence as the law then was he would be released with a fine only, but nevertheless disqualified from further office. In the Pipe Rolls of Henry II, we find several payments for "*disfaciendo*" false moneyers, and therefore this word may be accepted as the term for that mutilation which is described under the accounts of the 1125 Inquisition. This conviction or the death of Bishop Ralph seems to have stopped coinage here during the remainder of the reign.

The next entry in the 1130 Roll is that William de Pont de l'Arche, as sheriff, "returns an account of one mark of silver '*de Hōibz*' of the moneyers of Chichester." The words in italics having the curved contraction over the *o*, if correctly transcribed, probably stand for *de honoribus*, not *de hominibus*, nor would the latter reading be so intelligible. *Honos*, therefore, must be construed in its meaning of fee or reward, as "*honos medici*" for example, and so we have the sheriff accounting for the fees of moneyers of whom we have no record. It is also similarly used elsewhere in the Roll, and whichever meaning is intended is immaterial to the main point of the passage, which is, that other moneyers than Brand are mentioned. But this particular entry is followed by the note that the sheriff "has freed (or passed) the account in the Treasury

and is quit," not, as is usual, that he has paid it into the Treasury. We have over and over again similar entries of payments made by persons or cities and immediately returned to them by the King's writ. The explanation, therefore, seems to be that for the purpose of keeping on record that the two moneyers of Chichester were only dormant, not extinct, the sheriff on the one side debits himself with their fees, and on the other credits himself without payment. A system of account not unknown to-day. (See the "Dialogue of the Exchequer" upon this distinction, and compare the similar Domesday entry under Colchester, page 162.)

The Chichester coinage ceases in the reign of Henry III.

COINS.

♣ BRAND ON LICE ♣ hENRI REX 266

J. Verity. An annulet in the centre of the reverse cross. The moneyer is probably from Hastings, where the family had long been moneyers. [Mr. Verity has for twenty years contributed the readings of his Norman coins for this work.]

... END ON LIDI 267

Bari find. The moneyer is probably BREND or BRAND.

♣ BRAND O LICEOR : ♣ hENRIEVOR RE ♣ A IV

British Museum. [Fig. P and Pl. V, No. 6.]
Engraved *Num. Chron.*, 1881, iii. 2. From the Montagu, 1896, £5, and Toplis collections and the Nottingham find. Two annulets on the breast.

♣ GODPINE : ON : LICE : ♣ hENRIEVS RE : 264

Capt. R. J. H. Douglas. [Pl. IV, No. 10.]

A GODPINE coined here under Rufus. Annulets on the crown.

COLCHESTER (ESSEX).

COLNECEASTER, COLENCEASTRE, COLECEASTRA ; Domesday and Pipe Roll, COLECESTRA ; Charters, COLCESTRIA, &c.

The origin of this ancient town is lost in antiquity ; we have, however, numismatic evidence of its having been one of the principal Celtic cities, and a reference to Sir John Evans' *Coins of the Ancient Britons* discloses that of all the districts in England, this is the most prolific in the discovery of those memorials. Few towns in England retain more vestiges of Roman architecture, and even the walls of the castle are said, as to nearly one-third of their fabric, to be composed of brick, tiles, and materials dating from that period, and used again in their construction. Alternately Saxon and Danish, Colchester suffered the vicissitudes of siege and rapine. In 921 Edward the Elder, after the town had been stormed, repaired the walls where they were broken down. Mr. I. C. Gould points out that the walls of Colchester which are mentioned in the early chronicles, would be the Roman walls still utilized for defence, and which even now in places rise many feet above ground. Many times has Colchester suffered a siege, and but once withstood it. But the most peaceful period of its bygone history was during the two centuries immediately succeeding the Conquest, when it plays no part in the turmoils of England.

1075. Approximate date of the foundation of the Norman keep.

1086. Domesday notes.—The number of houses, according to Mr. Round's calculation, was 450. There were two churches and four mills. The town was a royal burg, and in the Confessor's time the burgesses farmed it of the King at an annual payment of

£15 5s. 3d., which included a sum of £4 from the moneyers. Now the burg returns £80, and certain customs to the King. "And in addition to this the burgesses of Colchester and of Maldon render £20 for the mint." "And this Waleran fixed, and they plead the King's allowance which he made them of £10, and Walkelin holding from the Bishop claims £40 from them." Eudo Dapifer, though several times mentioned under the county, had then but a small holding in Colchester itself. Otto *Aurifaber* holds 3 houses here—the site of which is still known as "Goldsmith's field."

1091? William II by charter grants the "town, keep and castle" of Colchester to Eudo Dapifer.

1101. Henry I by charter confirms to Eudo "the city of Colchester and the keep and castle and all the defences of that city, and all things which appertain to it, with all the advantages that my father and brother and I possessed in it, and with all those customs which my father and brother and I ever had in it. And this grant was made at Westminster at the first Christmas after the treaty of my brother Count Robert between me and him." (See Mr. Round's *Geoffrey de Mandeville*.)

1120. March 1st. Eudo died at his castle of Préaux in Normandy. (Cotton MS.).

1130. Pipe Roll notes.—Hamo de St. Clare, on behalf of the King, collects the *firma* of the city of Colchester, pays £38 16s. 2d., and owes £1 3s. 10d. (total £40). He also accounts for three years' arrears of the *auxilium* of the city, but the King remits to "all the burgesses of Colchester 100 shillings." Hamo also accounts for £190 3s. in respect of the *firma* of the lands of Eudo. "Edward" accounts for 36s. 8d. for a treasury plea, pays 20s., and owes 16s. 8d.

In the *Coins of the Ancient Britons* Sir John Evans describes the coins of Cunobelinus (*circa* A.D. 40), bearing the name of Camulodunum, the ancient name for Colchester, and there can be no doubt that it was that chief's principal city. Colchester had a Roman mint, and it is probable that coins were struck here under the early Saxon kings, bearing, however, no name to distinguish

them. But the next record we have of the mint is in the Law of Athelstan, which assigns three moneyers to Colchester, two being for the King, and one for the bishop (of London). Owing to the Danish troubles this grant seems to have remained a dead letter until the reign of Ethelred II, for we have no Colchester coins until then. From that time until the close of the Saxon rule, coins of every king—with the exception of Harthacnut—are issued here.

Domesday tells us that, in the time of the Confessor, the town was a royal burg farmed, together with the mint, to the burgesses at £15 5s. 3d., of which £4 was contributed by the moneyers. Between that time and 1086 there is evidently a change. Waleran, who is referred to, was perhaps the King's castellan when the castle was founded, and it would appear that William had confiscated the Saxon charter to the burgesses, but upon Waleran's intercession had regranted it to them at an increased rent. They now pay to the King £80, and certain customs for their burg, and £20 jointly with the burgesses of Maldon for the mint ("*moneta*," in the singular). Of this, Walkelin, holding from the bishop, claims £40 from them. Hitherto this has been passed as unintelligible, but if we assess the value of the customs at £20, we have a total *firma* of £120. So the Bishop of London was evidently entitled to the *tertius denarius* of the burg, and therefore, through his representative Walkelin, claimed £40. Perhaps this explains the mistake of "Walkelin, 'Bishop' of London," in a charter of Rufus to Bermondsey Abbey.

Under the Law of Athelstan, the bishop had what was practically the *tertius denarius* of the mint, and so, perhaps, that of the town too; but, as Mr. Round would point out,

this must not be confused with an earl's third penny of a county.

The assessment of Colchester and Maldon jointly for their mint suggests something similar to the conditions of the mints of Barnstaple, Totness, and Lydford, as described under Barnstaple, and so Colchester and Maldon probably issued money at either town alternately, and if only one mint was in operation during the year, the King remitted £10, but if both, then each town paid £10, and so £20 was retained in the Survey as the nominal *firma* from the burgesses.

This is borne out by the coins we have of these two mints, issued during the reigns of William I-II, for the types of Maldon fill up most of the blanks of Colchester.

In 1091 there is a further change. But this date must not be accepted too strictly, as Henry I's charter has been confused with William's, and so the date 1091 was accepted because it was that of the treaty between Rufus and Duke Robert, although the former contains the words, "*Sicut Pater meus et Frater et ego*," referring to William I, II, and Henry I. Colchester is granted to Eudo Dapifer, and there is no ground for the argument that he was merely the King's castellan, for the wording of the charter grants him the town and all its privileges. Hence he acquired the mint, and if the Maldon mint was under Colchester, as Domesday infers, then that of Maldon also. Again, as was the result in the case of Barnstaple and Lydford, he at once finally discontinues the minor mint of Maldon, and coins only at Colchester. Also, as at Barnstaple, and for the same reasons as are given there, the staff of moneyers is reduced from three to one.

This brings us to Henry's accession in 1100. It will

be noticed that the King's confirmation charter to Eudo is dated from Westminster, at the first Christmas after his treaty with Duke Robert of Normandy. Henry held his Christmas Court at Westminster in both 1101 and 1103, and therefore the question arises, to which treaty did he refer. The presence, however, of the name of the Bishop of Winchester amongst the witnesses proves the date to have been Christmas, 1101-2, for he was in exile in 1103.

From Christmas, 1101, to about the year 1107, Eudo was in England, and although one would scarcely expect to find type 251 in evidence, which at the date of the charter had only nine months to run, type 254 (1102-1104) ought certainly to be forthcoming, but as yet it remains missing. The next type, however, we have—namely, the PAX type 253 (1104-1106), which, like Eudo's charter, commemorates the treaties with Duke Robert of 1101 and 1103.

Of the reign of Henry I there are no fewer than thirty English charters which bear the name of Eudo as a witness. Eight of these are dated and are all prior to the year 1108, the latest being of the eighth year of the reign—*i.e.* Aug. 1107—Aug. 1108. Every one of the remaining twenty-two by internal evidence—*e.g.*, the appearance upon it of such names as Robert Fitz Hamon, Maurice, Bishop of London, and Roger Bigod—must also have been granted before 1108. We have thus the remarkable fact that the name of the Steward of the King's Household suddenly, and completely, disappears from our English charters practically in the same year as coinage is discontinued at Colchester for an interval of twenty years.

The explanation of this is not difficult. It was not

until the Battle of Tinchebrai, in September, 1106, that Henry acquired possession of Normandy, nor was his possession assured until the close of the following year. But from that date to the death of Eudo, in 1120, the King spent two-thirds of his time in the Duchy, and as he had two Royal Dapifers, Eudo and Hamon, he retained Hamon in England, who continues to witness our English charters, and appointed Eudo to Normandy. Eudo probably left England in 1107, for he witnesses the Rouen Charter to Bermondsey Abbey soon after that date, and continued in Normandy, where his name now appears as a witness to several charters until his death at the Castle of Préaux, in 1120. This explains the passage in the Empress Matilda's charter to Geoffrey de Mandeville, "*Et do ei totam terram quæ fuit Eudonis Dapiferi in Normanniâ et Dapiferatum ipsius*" (Round). The Cottonian MS. History of Colchester Abbey also implies that Eudo was Dapifer in Normandy, that he died there, and that his widow never returned to this country.

Eudo left no son, and, as Mr. Round points out in *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, it may be assumed that he died without any issue, for his vast estates reverted to the Crown. Thus Colchester once more fell into the King's possession, and, as usual, the mint remained dormant until the town was regranted by him.

In the 1130 Roll we have evidence that the burgesses are once more paying their *firma* to the King, but it has now been reduced to £40. This tells us that at some time between 1120 and 1129 Henry had regranted their ancient charter to the burgesses to farm their city, as in the time of the Confessor, but at a rent of £40. It tells us a little more, for by the entry of three years' arrears of *auxilium* we have the date of the charter thrown back to 1125-1126,

or the very date assigned to the similar charters to Barnstaple and other places presently mentioned.

This explains the next types issued from Colchester, for the burgesses have thus once more recovered their ancient privilege of coinage, and immediately issue 265 (1126-1128), which is followed by 262 (1128-1131).

The last type of the reign, 255, however, does not appear, and to explain its absence, as we have no materials for the history of Colchester between 1130 and 1141, we must refer to Matilda's charter of the latter date, from which we gather that Geoffrey de Mandeville, who had succeeded his father during the issue of type 262, had claimed the whole of the lands in England which formerly belonged to Eudo Dapifer, as his collateral heir. Thus again the history of Colchester strikingly resembles that of Barnstaple, and probably this claim in a like manner caused the revocation of the burgesses' charter.

We have, however, evidence that the actual date when the mint was discontinued was at Michaelmas, 1129. It will be remembered that when, in 1086, the *firma* of the burg was £80, the share of the Colchester mint, excluding Maldon, was £10; so now, in 1129-30, when the *firma* is £40, the mint's share would be only £5. Hence as the Pipe Roll tells us that out of the *firma* of £40 one hundred shillings were returned to the burgesses in 1130, we may assume that this reduction of £5 was, as in the similar instances of Dorchester and Tamworth (which see) in return for the surrender of the dies.

That the *firma* of £40 paid by the burgesses did include the privilege of coining is quite clear, for our coins tell us that the mint of Colchester was discontinued during the issue of the first type of Henry II, and the Pipe Roll for 1157-1158 shows this to have occurred in that year.

For the *firma* paid by the town was still £40, but sixty shillings of it was returned to the burgesses "*in defectu monetariorum de uno anno.*"

The entry in the 1130 Roll in which Edward accounts for a balance now standing at thirty-six shillings and eightpence, which he is paying by instalments, for a conviction upon a treasury plea, supplies the missing letters to the moneyer's name, "✠AED[PAR]D," upon type 265 (1126-1128), and explains why it does not appear upon the current type 262.

After an abeyance of nearly five hundred years the Colchester mint was revived for a short period during its famous siege in the Civil War.

COINS.

✠A[EDPAR]D : ON : LOLE 265

Whitbourn Sale, 1869. As to this moneyer,
see above.

✠AED . . . D : ON · LOLE ✠hENRIEVS R : 265

J. Pollexfen.

✠ÆLSIE : ON · LOLEES ✠hENRIEVS RE : 265

British Museum. From Durant Sale, 1847,
£1 17s., pierced. ÆLFSI, probably the
father, coined here under the Conqueror.

✠SÆGRIEM ONCOLE I HENRI RXI 253

British Museum. From the Cuff Sale, 1854,
£2 6s. The moneyer's name stands for
SÆGRIM, mentioned as a burgess of Col-
chester in Domesday.

✠PVLFP I : O . EOL ✠hEN . . . VS R . 262

Hunterian Museum, Glasgow University.
The moneyer's name is a contraction of
PVLFPINE, and he is probably the son of
Wulfwine, *monetarius* of Colchester men-
tioned in Domesday ; coins of whom we
have bearing both forms of the name,
PVLFP I and PVLFPINE, of Harold II
and William I.

✠PVLPI : O . . . LE ✠hENR 262

Hunterian Museum. The same moneyer.

. ON EO L E E 265

Sale, May, 1855.

Tyssen Sale, 1802. 265

DORCHESTER (DORSETSHIRE).

DORNECEASTER, DORNCEASTER, DORCEASTER, DORNWARACEASTER ;
Domesday, DORECESTRE ; Pipe Roll, DORECESTRIA.

From the Celtic fortifications and tumuli around Dorchester it was evidently a great tribal centre prior to the Roman invasion of Britain, and under the rule of the Legions the town was the famous station of *Durnovaria*, and the *Dunium* of Ptolemy. Its importance at that period is not only evidenced in history, but also in the remarkable vestiges of Roman occupation still remaining. Our chroniclers are nearly silent as to Dorchester in Saxon days, although we know from a charter of Egbert, in 833, that it was then a royal town. The men of Dorset, however, are recorded as more than holding their own against the Danes on several occasions, and

perhaps it was owing to their stubborn defence that the ancient burg kept the noiseless tenor of its way.

1066. Immediately after the Conquest William would appear from Domesday to have appointed one Hugh to be Sheriff of Dorchester.

1067. "At that time the West Saxons of Dorset and Somerset, and their neighbours, made an attack on Montacute, but by God's providence they were foiled in their attempt; for the men of Winchester, London, and Salisbury, under the command of Geoffrey, Bishop of Coutances, came upon them by surprise, slew some of them, and, mutilating a number of the prisoners, put the rest to flight." (Orderic under 1069.)

1086. Domesday notes.—In the time of the Confessor there were 172 houses in Dorchester. These were rated for all the King's service, and paid geld for 10 hides, to wit to the use of the King's "housecarles" 1 mark of silver, except the customs relating to the *firma noctis*. At that time there were two moneyers, each of whom paid 1 mark of silver to the King [as a *firma*], and 20s. whenever the money was changed. Now there are 88 houses, and 100 (have been) entirely destroyed since the time of Hugh the Sheriff. The King (William I) holds Dorchester, and King Edward held it.

1180. Pipe Roll notes.—"The burgesses" pay £11 in *auxilium*, but 40s. is remitted by the King's writ in pardon "to the burgesses of Shaftesbury because of their poverty, [and] 40s. to the burgesses of Dorchester."

According to one copy of Athelstan's Law, a moneyer was granted to Dorchester, but the authority is doubtful, and the explanation of it is probably a graphical error for Rochester. The earliest coins we have bearing the name of this mint are of the reign of Ethelred II, and upon these only one moneyer's name appears; nor does it seem certain that more than one at a time ever coined here until the days of the Confessor. The names also of Canute, Harold I, Harthacnut, and the Confessor, appear

upon the coins, but that of Harold II is missing. Dorchester, however, was never a prolific mint, although we have some half dozen of the Confessor's types represented by its coins, and upon some of them the names of two moneyers appear.

Immediately after the Conquest the men of Dorset, including, no doubt, the burgesses of Dorchester, joined in the Exeter rising, and attacked Montacute in Somerset. This brought destruction upon themselves, for William, in his march upon Exeter, ravaged the whole country in the west. Out of 172 houses, "100 have been entirely destroyed since the time of Sheriff Hugh," is the mournful passage in Domesday which can only refer to that raid, and even then, twenty years afterwards, only 16 houses had been rebuilt. This indicates how complete was the devastation, and how slow the recovery.

The town was the King's, and, therefore, the mint also. Before the catastrophe, we are told there were here two moneyers who paid one mark of silver to Edward the Confessor, and twenty shillings whenever the money was changed. In the year 1086, however, Domesday is silent as to their then existence, and so the mint must either have been discontinued or farmed with the town to the burgesses, for Dorchester remained a royal burg.

If, for a moment, we glance forward to the records of the time of the Plantagenets, we find that Edward III caused an Inquisition to be made "as to how much the burgesses of Dorchester, or those to whom the said town was demised by our progenitors, or us, at a certain *firma* per annum, were accustomed to render to our said progenitors." The enquiry only extended back to the sixth year of Henry III, when the *firma* of the burgesses was £16, but it is sufficient to show that the burgesses then

held their town in fee farm by ancient custom. It is true that, for a time, in the reign of Henry II, it was part of the territory of Queen Eleanor; but this was an exception, and would merely change the recipient of the *firma*.

The destruction of the town seems clearly to have occurred in the West Country rising of 1067, and no doubt it was then that the moneyers were discontinued, perhaps partly as a punishment to the burgesses, and partly because the ruined town was too poor to profitably maintain them. But shortly before the date of Domesday the mint was revived, and this was, no doubt, owing to a charter farming the town and mint to the burgesses, for from that time they issued coinage occasionally, at least, until the close of the reign of Rufus.

Dorchester plays no part in the general history of Henry I's reign, and all that we then know of it is learnt from the Pipe Roll, and from its coins. The Roll tells us that, in 1129-30, the burgesses were paying *auxilium*, and therefore at that time held their town, but that they were remitted forty shillings because of their poverty. This shows that they had not even yet recovered from the destruction of 1067, and so coinage would then be of little profit in a neighbourhood so surrounded by prolific mints.

If, however, there was a time when a minor mint would be more profitable than at another, it was that immediately following the great Inquisition of the moneyers at Winchester in 1125, when so many of them were disqualified. This, too, seems to be the year when Henry granted the cities or towns and mints of Barnstaple, Colchester, and other places throughout the country, at *firma*, to the citizens or burgesses, and so, bearing in mind the evidence of the inquisition of Edward III, it may be surmised that, in 1125 or 1126, Henry for the first

time during his reign "demised the town of Dorchester to the burgesses at a certain *firma* per annum."

Be this as it may, his coinage here commences with type 265 (1126-1128), and is continued in type 262 (1128-1131). During the issue of the latter type it ceases for ever, and this occurred in the actual year of the Roll 1129-30, before type 262 had been long in circulation. The reason for this assertion is disclosed by the entry in the Roll of the return to the burgesses of 40s. from the exchequer by the King's writ in pardon "*pro paupertate eorum*." A similar expression, but returning 25s., occurs in the same Roll in the case of the burgesses of Tamworth, and their mint also was closed for ever during the issue of type 262, and therefore also in 1129-30. (See Tamworth.) The explanation why 40s., and not the whole of their *auxilium*, was returned to Dorchester, is this. Under the custom recorded by Domesday, 40s. had to be paid for the dies "whenever the money was changed." The money had been changed in 1128, on the introduction of type 262, and so, as the burgesses were too poor to continue their mint, they now returned the dies, and the exchequer remitted to them in 1129 what they had paid in the previous year. The passage, therefore, also proves that the mint was at that time farmed to the burgesses. The parallel case of Colchester has already been instanced on page 165.

Osbern, the moneyer who revived the mint in 1126, was probably one of the family of Osberns, moneyers of Salisbury under William II and Henry I.

COINS.

OSBERN : ON : DORE . HENR RE 262

Watford find. As to the moneyer, see above.

..... N : DOREEES VS RE 265

British Museum. Presented by Mr. D. H. Haigh. Owing to double striking the name of the mint appears to be DOREEEES.

..... ON DOREEES 265

Late Capt. James. From a MS. note by Mr. Cuff in Mr. W. J. Webster's copy of Ruding.

The coin of type 251, assigned by Mr. Hawkins to this mint, is the British Museum specimen of Dover.

DOVER (KENT).

DOFERAN, DOFRA, DOFRIS, DORFRIS, DOVERIA; Domesday, DOVEBE; Pipe Roll, DOVRA.

The position of Dover, commanding the shortest passage to the Continent, has been fortified as a protection to our commerce and to our coast from time immemorial. So strong were the then existing earthworks that the Romans were content to depart from their usual custom, and accepted much of the general design of the old fortification for the plan of their own camp. Hence, entombed in the walls of Dover Castle are the materials and structure of nearly every century for two thousand years at least. On the advent of the Saxons, its proximity to the Isle of Thanet would render Dover one of their earliest possessions in this country, and under them it continued to flourish in importance until, in the reign of the Confessor, it had become the chief port on the south coast. Edward the Confessor granted, or confirmed, to its burgesses a charter of incorporation by tenure of supplying and manning 20

ships for the King's fleet, a custom which in later times developed into the confederation of the "Cinque Ports."

1066. From Hastings the Conqueror marched on Dover, which, although "the position was thought to be impregnable, the castle standing on the summit of a steep rock overhanging the sea, was surrendered without a blow." Nevertheless the Normans looted and burnt the town. William, however, ordered it to be rebuilt at his own cost, and spent eight days in strengthening the fortifications of the castle. This would be Earl Godwin's stockade. (Cf. Orderic.)

1067. William grants "Dover and all Kent" to Odo, Bishop of Bayeux. Orderic calls him "Earl Palatine of Kent." In consequence of a private feud, Eustace, Count of Boulogne, attacks Dover, but is repulsed by the garrison, assisted by the burgesses. (Orderic.)

1069. In like manner they repel an attempted landing of the Danish fleet. (Orderic.)

1082. The fall of Odo, who is imprisoned at Rouen until the King's death. (Orderic.)

1086. Domesday notes.—In the time of the Confessor Dover paid £18, of which Earl Godwin had the third penny. The burgesses supplied 20 ships to the King's fleet for 15 days in every year, each being manned by 21 men. The customs of Dover are set out in detail as they existed "when King William came into England." In that year "the town itself was burnt," and on that account it was impossible to estimate its value when the Bishop of Bayeux received it. Now it is assessed at £40, but nevertheless pays £54, namely, £24 in pennies, which are [credited as ?] 20 to the ounce, to the King; £30 by number to the Earl. Dover was a market town, and had a Guild of the Burgesses, but the mint is not mentioned.

1087. Odo is released by the King on his deathbed. (Orderic.) Odo does not, however, appear to have regained Dover, for the castle is now held by tenure of knight service by eight Kentish knights.

1101. King Henry orders the boat-carles (captains of the ships of Dover, Sandwich, Hastings, Hythe, and Romney) to protect the coast against Duke Robert's landing, but the latter "so tampered with the fidelity of *some* of them by promises of various kinds, that

throwing off their allegiance they deserted to him and became his pilots to England." (Florence.)

1121-2. At some time during his reign, probably now, Henry granted the castle of Dover to Robert, Earl of Gloucester, and he in turn appointed his relative, Walkelin Maminot castellan. (Cf. Orderic.)

1130. Pipe Roll notes.—The "*firma* of Dover," including the ship money and customs, is £93 19s. 10d., partly by number and partly *blanched*, or, say, £90 net. The burgesses owe 60 marks of silver upon a plea of Henry de Port (Justiciary).

When our coins tell us that the mints of Dover, Hastings, Romney, and Sandwich, all sprang into existence during the great Danish invasions of the reign of Ethelred II, and when Domesday tells us that the burgesses held most of these towns under the custom of supplying ships to the King's navy, it is reasonable to infer that the King then released his privileges in the burghs to the burgesses in exchange for such service and a *firma*, or what was equivalent to a *firma*. These privileges would include the mints, and this accounts for the fact, that in none of these four instances are they mentioned in the Survey.

It is true that the Confessor's charter to Dover has been questioned, but from Domesday it is quite clear that the burgesses in his reign held their town upon the above custom in addition to a *firma*, and this could only have arisen by charter.

Under the Saxons Dover was a prolific mint, type after type appearing in regular succession. Upon the Conquest William gave the town—and therefore the mint—to Odo, and the coinage naturally at once becomes of an intermittent character, until his fall in 1082, from which date his lordship of the town ceases.

William had favoured the men of Dover, for even when

his followers burnt the town, in 1066, he paid for its rebuilding. Their stubborn defence against Eustace and the Danish fleet also entitled them to his consideration, and it is probable that he, upon Odo's fall in 1082, at once regranted to them their ancient privileges, although he increased the *firma* to £54. In 1086 Domesday records that £30 (no doubt the *third* part after adding the value of the ships and customs, hence the £90 *firma* of the Pipe Roll) of it was payable to the earl—Odo, as Earl of Kent—but this was merely for purposes of account, awaiting the possible revival of the earldom, for the whole would at that time be received by the King under the forfeiture.

From about 1082, therefore, when the burgesses again regained their ancient customs, coinage here once more becomes strictly consecutive, and so continues until the death of Rufus in 1100.

On Henry's accession the sequence is continued and his first type, 251 (1100-1102), is issued, but now comes a change. We have seen how close was the association which seems to have existed between the privileges of the burgesses (including their mint), and their service of ships. So when history tells us that the boat carles in 1101 betrayed Henry upon his emergency, and deserted to Robert of Normandy, only one result can be expected. Henry's virtues did not include magnanimity, for he wreaked his vengeance upon every noble of the land who had then wavered from his cause, and so the burgesses suffered for the treachery of their fleet. Their privileges are withdrawn, and the mint is closed.

Although the burgesses, as is evidenced by the Pipe Roll, continued to hold their town at *firma*, they are apparently paying an annual fine of sixty marks, and so their privileges are, no doubt, curtailed. The mint, there-

fore, remained dormant until towards the end of the reign of Stephen, when it was temporarily reopened, perhaps during his visit here in 1154, which terminated in his death. With that event, the mint of Dover closed for ever. The moneyer's name upon the coins we have of that brief revival is ADAM, and in the 1157-8 Roll, Adam *Monetarius* of Dover is recorded as owing 50 marks of silver "for his redemption." Perhaps he issued the money without authority, or continued to issue it after Henry II's accession.

COIN.

✠GOLDPINE ON DOFI

✠HNRI REX N 251

British Museum. This moneyer coined here for the Williams.

The coin of type 253, described in the Whitbourn Catalogue as of Dover and *pierced*, is the Marsham and Montagu coin of Stamford, 6ODRIE ON STEN.

DURHAM.

DUNHOLME, DUNOLM, DURHAM, DUREM, DURESME; Pipe Roll, DUNELM.

Unlike the cities and towns hitherto dealt with, Durham in the day of King Henry could boast of little antiquity, for its foundations were then but a century old. Until 995, the natural strength of this *dun-holm* or island hill—for the horse-shoe bend of the river almost renders it such—had remained neglected, or at least there is no historical record of its prior occupation. But in that year it was chosen for the shrine of the wandering remains of St. Cuthbert and of the holy Bede. As such it at

once became the seat of the ancient See of Lindisfarne ; the name of which was now changed to Durham.

Camden tells us that the Palatine rights of the Bishops of Durham were founded upon immemorial prescription and proceeded from a principle of devotion to St. Cuthbert ; that whatever lands were given to him should be held by him with the same freedom as the Princes who gave them held the rest of their estates. Thus in Henry II's time, the King's writ was only supposed to run in the Palatinate by the courtesy of the Bishop. William of Malmesbury, describing the Norman city in those days, says :—

“ Durham is a hill, rising by little and little from the valley, by an easy and gentle ascent, to the very top ; and, notwithstanding that by its rugged situation and craggy precipice the access to it is cut off on all sides, yet lately they have built a castle upon the hill.”

1069. Robert de Comines, to whom William had given the county, enters the city with 500 men. But he and his retinue are massacred by the citizens. (Orderic.)
1070. William, in retaliation, lays waste Northumbria, and for nine years the land remained “ a mere dreary waste, and between York and Durham there was not one inhabited town.” (Hoveden.)
1071. Bishop Egelwine joins Hereward's revolt, is taken prisoner at Ely, and dies at Abingdon. (Sax. Chron.)
1072. Walcher of Liége is appointed his successor. (Hoveden.) The King, returning from Scotland, “ built a castle at Durham, where the Bishop and his people might enjoy security from the incursions of the enemy.” (Hoveden.)
1075. Bishop Walcher purchases the earldom of Northumbria. (Monasticon.)
1080. Bishop Walcher is murdered by the Northumbrians at Gateshead, and so William again ravages the country. (Hoveden.)
1081. William De Carileph appointed Bishop.
1082. The King's great Westminster Charter to the

- Bishop of Durham in response to a *bull* of requests by Pope Gregory, consolidating the Palatine powers as "omnes dignitates et libertates quæ ad regis coronam pertinent ab omni servicio et inquietudine imperpetuum liberas munitas et quietas." (Monast.)
1088. Bishop William joins Odo's rebellion; "yet at this very time the King (Rufus) relied on his discretion as a faithful councillor, he being a man of great sagacity, and the whole commonwealth of England was under his administration." (Florence.) "The King afterwards sent an army to Durham, and besieged the castle, and the Bishop capitulated and surrendered it, and he gave up his bishopric and went to Normandy." (Sax. Chron.)
1091. William II visits Durham and restores Bishop Carileph to his See.
1093. The Bishop commences the great Norman cathedral.
1096. Death of William De Carileph. Rufus retains the revenues of the Palatine See for three years. (Orderic.)
1099. Ranulf Flambard appointed Bishop, "a man of acute intellect, handsome and fluent, cruel and ambitious, rapacious and arrogant." (Orderic.) He was treasurer and chief justiciary of England.
1100. Almost immediately upon his accession, Henry arrests Ranulf, and commits him "in fetters" to the Tower of London. (Orderic.)
1101. His extraordinary escape. He joins Duke Robert in Normandy. (Orderic, &c.)
1106. On Duke Robert's defeat at Tinchebrai Ranulf offers to surrender Lisieux in exchange for restoration to his bishopric. This Henry accepts. (Orderic.)
1107. Ranulf attends the synod at Canterbury. (Florence.)
1119. Is at Henry's court in Normandy. (Florence.)
1121. Founds Norham Castle. (Hoveden.)
1128. Death of Bishop Ranulf in September. (S. of Durham, Huntingdon.) Henry retains the revenues of the Palatinate for nearly five years, appointing Geoffrey Escolland and John de Amundevilla sequestrators. (S. of Durham.)
1130. Pipe Roll notes.—Geoffrey Escolland returns the accounts, and John de Amundevilla certifies the payments. The revenue of the bishopric for the previous

year, 1128-9, was £401 1s. The Archbishop of York had lately visited the diocese, and the King of Scotland had passed through it on his return from Henry's court. Many manors are still waste. £4 4s. is paid to make up the full number (of pennies) deficient on tale when the Earl of Gloucester and Brian Fitz Count audited the exchequer accounts (at Winchester) for the previous year. [See page 8.] The burgesses of Durham are amerced in 100 shillings on the plea of Eustace Fitz John, the King's justiciary, but are allowed 60 shillings for the burning of their houses (probably an annual grant originating in the devastations of William's time). 40 shillings is spent on two ships. Anchtel de Worcester accounts for 40 shillings which he had received from Oliver "*de pecuniâ*" of the Bishop of Durham. [The phrase "*de pecuniâ*" occurs very often in the Roll, and it must be pointed out that unfortunately it does not refer to money as currency. "*Pecunia*" is derived from "*pecus*," cattle, hence chattel, and it is in this sense that it is used throughout the Roll, and usually in cases of succession to property of a deceased person. So it may in future be translated "personal effects."]

1133. Geoffrey, the King's Chancellor, is appointed Bishop.

1183. "The dies for the money at Durham used to pay 10 marks, but Henry II, as he established the dies in Newcastle, reduced the payment of 10 marks to 3, and proportionately reduced the fines" [when the types were changed]. (Baldon Book.)

Hitherto it has been supposed that we have no Saxon coins of Durham; but the mint was certainly in operation at some time during the reign of either William I or II, for we have coins of a *single* type of one of them struck here bearing the appropriate moneyer's name EVTDBRHT. This is the PA+S type (Hawkins 241 and 242), which composed the bulk of the coins in the great Beaworth hoard, and we shall presently see how simple it now is to define its date of issue.

Before doing so, however, it is necessary to explain the

passage in the Boldon Book and prove that prior to the year 1174, the sole privilege of coinage at Durham was vested in the Bishops Palatine.

1252. "Upon the testimony of various persons worthy of credit, and the exhibition of ancient dies and of money struck from them," Henry III allowed that the Bishops "were accustomed to have their dies at Durham, and he restored to the then Bishop seizin of his dies, to hold them in the Church of Durham as his predecessors used to have them."

1293. Edward I directed a writ of inquiry as to what were the ancient privileges of the Bishops of Durham, and particularly as to their right of coinage. It was found that they "had enjoyed all royal privileges within the liberty of Durham from the time of the conquest of England and before, without any interruption, as of the right and liberty of the Church of St. Cuthbert in Durham." (Ruding.)

There are several other records to the same effect, but these are sufficient to prove that the Palatine rights of the Bishops included that of coinage. Indeed it would be remarkable if that were not so, for even the King's writ did not run in the diocese prior to 1174 (as Henry II admits in his Woodstock charter, 1163-1166—*Round*), and so up to that period the sole right of coining at Durham was vested in the Bishop, who "enjoyed all royal privileges."

From the 1293 writ it is evident that this right dated from about the time of the Conquest, but whether the words "and before" were mere general terms to show that there was no clearly ascertained date of origin or whether they referred to a right (although not exercised) under the general "royal privileges," or again whether such words were true, is not so clear. It is, however, the paramount principle of this work to trust the evidence of our early records throughout in preference to accepting

any theory to the contrary. Therefore, it is submitted that the coins of Ethelred II reading ✠EADSI MO DVNII and of Canute reading ✠LEOOFRIE M DVM, hitherto given to Dunwich, in Suffolk, must be now assigned to Durham. There is no record of the existence of any mint at Dunwich, and the words "from the time of the Conquest and before," are exactly the vague terms in which one would even to-day describe the origin of the mint of Durham, in view of the fact that we have these coins struck during the first quarter of a century following the establishment of the See, and none afterwards until the reign of William I.

So supreme was the jurisdiction of the Palatinate that it came neither within the scope of Domesday nor of the early Pipe Rolls except during a sequestration. In 1174, however, Henry II altered all this. King Stephen's nephew, Hugh de Pudsey, was the then Bishop, and Henry having cause to suspect his allegiance compelled him to deliver possession of the castle of Durham. In 1177, Henry delivered

"to Roger de Conyers the custody of the fortress of Durham, which the King had taken from Hugh, the Bishop of Durham, because he had only made a feint of serving him in the civil wars. In consequence of this, the Bishop gave him 2,000 marks of silver to regain his favour on condition that his castles should be left standing." (Hoveden.)

Thus the Palatine authority was for a time broken, and the King confiscated the mint and appointed his own moneyers (seemingly three). One of these, William by name, he presently removed to Newcastle, which was then increasing in importance owing to the imprisonment of the King of Scotland in its castle. In 1183 he ordered a return to be made of his new possessions, similar in its

details to that of Domesday. This is known to us as "The Boldon Book," and its entry, as quoted above, is thus quite consistent with the history of the mint. Incidentally we notice that the date of the establishment of the Newcastle mint must have been after 1174 and before 1183. The following grant is also now explained.

1196. "King Richard gave to Philip of Poitiers, Bishop elect, license to make money in his city of Durham, a permission which had not been granted to his predecessors *for a long time back*" [*i.e.* since 1174 or 1177].

In this we have direct evidence that a grant of coinage required a confirmation charter upon every succession of the grantee, and that the Prince-Bishops of the Palatinate held their privilege by grant and not by prescription.

To return to the "time when King William came into England," as Domesday would say. Egelwine, the Saxon Bishop, does not tender his submission to the Conqueror, and therefore the latter grants the earldom to Robert de Comines. This was a severance of the Palatinate, but the earl was slain on the night of his entry into Durham. Egelwine, after a temporary flight across the Border, joins Hereward's revolt in 1071, is imprisoned and dies. If he had coined at all, his money would certainly not have borne the name of a Norman King upon it. Walcher is appointed his successor, and about 1075 purchases the outstanding earldom, and in 1080 he is murdered by the Northumbrians. In 1081 William de Carileph succeeds.

Up to this date the county had been in a most disturbed state, and it is evident that after the severance of the earldom in 1069 the two Norman Bishops had not been recognised as Bishops Palatine or exercised their ancient privileges as such, for now Pope Gregory intervenes

by issuing a bull requesting the King to restore and consolidate the rights of the Palatinate. This is done by the great Charter to Durham, granted by King William, in Council, at Westminster, in the sixteenth year of his reign (1082). It is set out at length in the *Monasticon*; but, briefly, it granted to Bishop Carileph and his successors, and to the Church of St. Cuthbert, all the ancient rights of St. Cuthbert and every privilege within the diocese that the King himself had elsewhere. Now, and only now during the whole of the reigns of the two Williams has a bishop, so far as is recorded, the right and opportunity of coining at Durham, and therefore the date of the coins of the PA+S type must be between 1082 and 1087.

On the accession of Rufus in 1087, Bishop Carileph joined Odo's rebellion before there was any probability of his having received a confirmation charter from the new King. He was besieged in Durham in 1088, and exiled to Normandy. In September, 1091, upon the emergency of an invasion by the Scottish King, Rufus visited Durham and restored Carileph to his See, though not necessarily to favour, and it is unlikely that he ever confirmed the Palatine charter to him. On the contrary, he took this opportunity of curtailing the powers of the See by depriving it of the ruined town of Carlisle, which he converted into a royal fortress. Carileph died in September, 1096, and for three years Rufus retained the revenues in his own hands. In 1099, two months only before the King's death, Ranulf Flambard was appointed to the See. Hence we have no coins struck at Durham during the reign of William II.

For the third time on a Norman King's accession trouble falls on Durham, Flambard is immediately arrested by Henry and confined in the Tower. He escapes to

Normandy in the following year, and from now to the battle of Tinchebrai in September, 1106, he is the most dangerous of Henry's enemies in Duke Robert's camp. At this time Henry's quarrel with Archbishop Anselm is at its height, and therefore when the wily Bishop offers to surrender his castle and province of Lisieux to him in exchange for the restoration of the See, Henry accepted the compromise, and "restored to Flambard, with whom he was reconciled, his bishopric of Durham."

This is a very different matter from a spontaneous reconciliation and restoration of the Palatine privileges, and with the exception of certain charters to which his attestation was probably necessary in his official capacity, it is many years before we read of Flambard being received at the King's Court. In 1119, however, he visits Henry in Normandy and supports his contention at the Council of Rheims—which, perhaps, paves his way to his ultimate restoration to favour. In 1122 Henry visits Durham, probably to attend the consecration of the new Cathedral, which is now sufficiently completed.

In or about 1127 the silver mines on the borders of Cumberland and Northumberland, but within the ancient "lands of St. Cuthbert," are discovered. It is now to the mutual benefit of King and Bishop that the mint at Durham should be revived, for the King claims the royalties from the mines and the Bishop the profit from the dies. Henry farms the mines and grants a mint to the burghers of Carlisle, and it is essential that he should settle any question that might arise as to whether he or the Bishop was entitled to the revenue of this discovery. The most natural protection of his claim would be by a charter confirming to the Bishop the Palatine privileges other than those of royal mines.

This is supposition, but we have evidence from the coins that both the mints of Durham and Carlisle now issue type 262 (1128-1131). Carlisle, as we have seen, was a newly created mint and that of Durham had been in abeyance for forty years.

But in the autumn of 1128 Bishop Flambard dies and therefore the few rare coins we have of Durham during this reign must have been issued at the very commencement of this type.

The great revenues of the See were a temptation to Henry, and consequently he did not appoint a successor to Flambard until 1133. In the meantime the King's commissioners were in charge of the Palatinate. There was a curious custom at Durham during a vacancy in the See. The key of the castle was suspended over the tomb of St. Cuthbert in the Cathedral, to imply that as the castle had been granted to St. Cuthbert, it would be sacrilege for any other than his episcopalian successor to use it. It should be noticed that the privileges in the great charter of 1082 and the seizin of the dies in the writ of 1293 were granted to, and according to the rights of, the Church of St. Cuthbert, and that the grant of the latter in the writ of 1252 was "to hold the dies in the Church of Durham as the Bishop's predecessors used to have them." Hence we may infer that during a sequestration they also were similarly placed over the saint's tomb. But in any case we have no instance either here or elsewhere of coinage being continued between the death of a grantee and the confirmation grant to his successor. In 1133 the appointment of the new Bishop Geoffrey, the Chancellor, was between Whitsuntide and August, and early in the latter month the King sailed to Normandy, never to return alive. Hence there was little opportunity for a confirma-

tion charter to the new Bishop; his name is not to be found upon the King's charters, nor was he consecrated at the date of Henry's departure. We have, therefore, no Durham coins issued by him during this reign.

COINS.

✠ORDPI : ON : DVRhAM : ✠hENRI[L]VS : 262

Watford find.

✠ORDPI : ON DVRhAM ✠hENRIEVS 262

British Museum. From Mr. Rashleigh.

✠ORDPI ON DVRhAM ✠hENRIEVS 262

Watford find. Perhaps the Museum specimen.

The specimen of 255, described as of this mint, in the Durden Catalogue, 1892, is Mr. A. H. Sadd's London coin, reading ✠BALD-PINE ON LVN.

EXETER (DEVONSHIRE).

EAXANOEASTRE, EAXECEASTRE, EXACESTRE, EXCESTRA; Domesday, "Exon" Domesday, and Pipe Roll, EXONIA.

This ancient British and Roman city was one of the principal burghs of the West Saxon Kings. In the reign of Alfred the Danes seized it, and it was for some time the centre of their defence in the West. Athelstan fortified the city "with towers, and a wall of squared stone," which, however, probably means that he restored the Roman walls, for they were still standing in Norman times. The author of *The Gesta* describes Exeter in Stephen's days as—

"A large city, ranking, they say, the fourth in England. It is surrounded by ancient Roman walls, and is famous for its sea fisheries, for abundance of meat, and for its trade and commerce."

The see of Exeter was established in the reign of the Confessor.

1067. The citizens close their gates against William, "offering to pay tribute according to ancient custom." They slay many of his army, but after a short siege surrender the city. (Orderic, Sax. Chron.) William "selected a spot within the walls for erecting a castle, and left there Baldwin Fitz Gilbert de Meules, and other knights of eminence, to complete the work and garrison the place." (Orderic.)

1086. Domesday notes.—In the Confessor's time this city never paid geld except when London, York, and Winchester were assessed, and this was half a mark of silver to military service. The city rendered service whenever there was an expedition against the enemy by land or by sea. Now the King has in the city nearly 300 houses, of which 275 pay customs. These pay £18 per annum. Of this B[aldwin Fitz Gilbert], the sheriff, has £6 by weight after refining. Forty-eight houses have been laid waste since the King came into England. The Bishop of Exeter has a church in the city, paying one mark, and 17 houses paying 10s. 10d., and two are laid waste by fire. The burgesses have 12 carucates of land outside the city.

1090. Death of Baldwin Fitz Gilbert (Orderic). He is succeeded as to his English possessions by his second or third son, Richard de Redvers (but see below). Richard de Redvers revolts from Rufus and joins Henry's defence of the Côtentin, Normandy. (Orderic.)

1101. Richard de Redvers supports Henry's cause in England against Duke Robert, and is admitted to his councils. (Orderic.)

1101, Christmas. Witnesses the Colchester charter.

1107. His death (Florence and Orderic). He is succeeded by his son, Baldwin de Redvers, who, in the Carisbrooke charter of Stephen's reign, quoted by

Mr. Round, and also in his charter to St. James' Priory, Exeter, calls him his father.

1112. Foundation of the Norman cathedral. (Exon Chron.)

1128. Henry gives Matilda, daughter of Richard de Redvers, in marriage to William de Roumare. (Orderic.)

1130. Pipe Roll notes.—Baldwin de Redvers accounts for 500 marks of silver for his forestry rights over the county of Devon, of which he pays an instalment of £100, and similarly pays £20 of £42 11s. 4d. for the previous year's military service for his lands. Payments are allowed for supplies to the four *vigiles* of the castle of Exeter, showing that it is still a royal demesne. The port and market dues are each returned at 60s., and £25 12s. 6d. [being two-thirds] of the *firma* of the city, is paid by the Sheriff to the Canons of the Holy Trinity, London. There is a further reference to the city, but the context is obliterated.

1130. Adeliza, widow of Richard de Redvers, grants a charter to the church of Salisbury.

1131. Sep. 8. Baldwin de Redvers is at the Northampton council and witnesses the Salisbury charter.

The name of Exeter first appears upon our coinage on one of the late types of Alfred the Great, struck here no doubt after the expulsion of the Danes from the West in 895. The Law of Athelstan authorised the mint to have two moneys, and his coins seem to corroborate that number as coining here at a time. From his reign to the date of the Conquest the name of every King appears upon the Exeter money, but the number of moneys was increased to four.

As the mint is not mentioned in Domesday it follows that it had either been farmed to the burgesses or granted to the territorial lord. The burgesses, however, did not then pay a *firma*, but their houses were rated directly to the King at £18. Of this, £6 went to Baldwin Fitz Gilbert, to whom William, in 1067, had entrusted

the castle. The six pounds is obviously the *tertius denarius* of the town. A grant of the *tertius denarius* of the pleas of a *County* constituted an earldom with all its almost sovereign powers, and *pro rata*, a grant of that of a town carried with it all the minor privileges annexed to the lordship of the burg, and the invariable rule seems to have been that whenever the *tertius denarius* of a mint town existed it carried the mint with it. (As to the distinction between the two classes of "third pennies" see Mr. Round's *Geoffrey de Mandeville*).

Baldwin was cousin to the Conqueror, and materially assisted him in the invasion. He had large possessions in Normandy, including the castles of Brionne and Sap, and was called Baldwin the Viscount. That he did possess the mint of Exeter is proved by a glance at its coinage under the two Williams. From 1067 to and inclusive of the first type of William II. (say 1087-1089), every type is consecutively issued from Exeter, and after that none, for he died in 1090.

The link identifying Richard de Redvers as Richard, son of Baldwin Fitz Gilbert, has been questioned. But Orderic tells us that at the date of the Conquest there were two brothers, Richard and Baldwin Fitz Gilbert, and the Charter of St. Père de Chartres of 1060 mentions three brothers, Richard, Baldwin, and William de Redvers. Baldwin Fitz Gilbert, again, had three sons, Robert, William, and Richard (Orderic), and Baldwin de Redvers also had a son, Richard. Moreover, under 1136 the *Gesta* speaks of Baldwin de Redvers II, afterwards Earl of Devon, as a man of the highest rank and descent, which is applicable to the descendant of Gilbert, the grandson of Richard I, Duke of Normandy, but incompatible with the son of Richard de Redvers, if he were the first of his

name to attain any position of eminence. Again, we know that Richard de Redvers was nephew of William Fitz Osborn, cousin to William I, and Baldwin Fitz Gilbert was also a cousin of that King. Therefore, in view of these coincidences and of the fact that on Henry's accession the Redvers family appear as lords of Exeter without any explanation or notice of a new grant, the evidence of identification is strong, for, as most of the barons of that period were known by half a dozen names of description, the difference of surname is of little moment. Moreover, the Cotton MS., Julii B. 10, states such to have been the case. But if this is not correct, it makes little difference to the story of the Exeter mint, for it merely changes Henry's "confirmation" charter to De Redvers into an entirely fresh grant of the lordship of Exeter to that family.

To return to the death of Baldwin Fitz Gilbert of Exeter in 1090. His eldest son Robert succeeded as usual to the Norman estates, but soon afterwards he was expelled from Brionne Castle by Duke Robert, so it is not surprising that in the same year we find his "brother" Richard de Redvers, the heir to Exeter, in league with Prince Henry in the Côtentin, who was "exasperated with the Duke . . . and no less at variance with King William" (Orderic). Until, therefore, the accession of Henry, Exeter remained without its lord, and the mint was in abeyance.

In the passage just quoted from Orderic the name of Richard de Redvers follows that of Hugh, Earl of Chester, and, as we have seen under that mint, "Hugh, Earl of Chester, and Robert de Belême with other barons who were at that time in Normandy," were not at Henry's coronation in August, 1100, but "put their affairs in Normandy in order, and hastening to England offered

due submission to the new King, and having done homage to him received *confirmation* in their possessions and all their dignities with royal gifts" (Orderic). Richard was probably one of these, and as we have no certain evidence that any one of the four mints under the jurisdiction of these lords—namely, Exeter, Chichester, Shrewsbury or Chester struck type 251 (1100-1102), it seems probable that they stayed some months in Normandy to put their affairs in order.

Richard de Redvers is also mentioned in connection with Earl Hugh (and therefore after the latter's arrival in England), as being admitted to Henry's councils, and we read that upon Duke Robert's invasion in the autumn of 1101, "Robert de Mellent, Richard de Redvers, and many other stout barons rallied round the King" (Orderic). Between September, 1101, and 1104, his name appears as a witness to several English charters.

Duke Robert landed at Portsmouth, and, according to Wace, the two brothers met and arranged their treaty in "a forest district called Hantone." This has been construed as Hampton Court, but it is, of course, Southampton, on the then boundary of the New Forest. It was probably on this occasion that Henry granted to De Redvers the neighbouring manor of Christchurch and shortly afterwards a confirmation charter of the lordship of Exeter (erroneously said to have been of the earldom), as some reward for his assistance at this crisis. The Cotton MS. tells us that King Henry I. granted to "his beloved and faithful Richard de Redvers," first Tiverton and afterwards the Honour of Plympton, with other places, and the *tertius denarius* of the County" (probably an error for the *tertius denarius* of the City of Exeter only); "after this he obtained from the said King the

Isle of Wight." Whether this is strictly accurate or not, it proves at least that some time elapsed between the date of Henry's accession and that of the confirmation charter of Exeter to De Redvers. Hence type 251 (1100-1102) does not appear upon these coins. This, therefore, brings us to 1102, and type 254 (1102-1104) now appears from the Exeter mint. Between 1104 and 1106, as one of the lords of the Côtentin and castellan of Vernon, he would be with the army in Normandy and at Tinchebrai, and so type 253 is absent from the Exeter coins. He, however, returned to Exeter, and died there in 1107, "a baron of England," as Orderic calls him; and so type 252 (1106-1108) is in evidence from the mint. He married Adeliza, daughter of William Peverell of Nottingham, as appears by a charter of Earl Baldwin in Stephen's reign, and she survived her husband until 1130 at least. He left three sons, Baldwin, who succeeded to most of his possessions, William and Robert. Baldwin, who was probably a minor at that time, for his grandfather was living up to 1090, and he himself survived his father for nearly fifty years, seems to have succeeded to all his father's possessions in Normandy, for he was castellan of Vernon and Lord of Néhou. English chroniclers are silent as to him until the year 1131, and it does not appear that he ever resided in his father's lordship of Exeter until about the year 1128. The grounds for this supposition are the following. First: The absence of his name in English chronicles or charters prior to the year 1129, whereas after that date it constantly appears. Second: The fact that he witnesses charters in Normandy in 1123 and 1125. Third: The entries in the 1129-30 Pipe Roll that he is then paying off £500 by instalments of £100 a year for the Forestry rights of

Devon, probably part of the relief upon his return and succession to his father's estates; and of the item for military *auxilium* from his land for the previous year (1128), which rather suggests that he had arrived in that year. Fourth: The *Gesta* tell us under the year 1136 that "he had brought armed bands into the city (of Exeter) among the peaceable inhabitants and was reducing not only them but all the neighbourhood under his dominion." This far better describes the comparatively recent entry of a Norman stranger into the city than the revolt of an English Baron resident there for nearly thirty years.

To return to the coinage. From the death of Richard in 1107 to the years 1112-1114 we have, therefore, no coins bearing the name of this mint. In 1112, however, occurred the foundation of the Norman Cathedral by Bishop William de Warlewast. Unfortunately, the charter is not extant, but the usual custom would be followed and the presence of the lord of Exeter was necessary to join in the grant of its lands and endowments. So Baldwin, now probably of age, would visit his lordship of Exeter on that occasion to receive his own confirmation charter, and to then grant the charter of foundation to the new church, which again would require a confirmation charter from the King. It is therefore no mere coincidence which gives us type 267 (1112-1114) of this mint.

He next returns to England about 1128, or perhaps came over with the Empress Matilda, for there is a mutilated paragraph in the 1130 Pipe Roll under Devonshire which is more likely to refer to him than to anyone else, namely, a grant to ". . . according to the promises which the King guaranteed to him when the Empress

came into England." This is the more probable as he devoted the rest of his life to her service, and according to the *Gesta*, on the surrender of Exeter in 1136 his friends pleaded with the King for his life because he had "never sworn allegiance to Stephen, but only obeyed the commands of his Liege-lord," meaning no doubt Geoffrey of Anjou, for Robert of Gloucester could hardly be so called; moreover, Earl Robert had not then declared against Stephen. It was, too, about this date, 1128, that Baldwin's sister Matilda was married to William de Roumare of Lincoln.

We have, however, direct evidence that he was in England for some time between 1130 and 1133, for his name appears on several charters between those dates. He was at the great Council of Northampton on September 8th, 1131, and swore allegiance to the Empress—also witnessing the Salisbury Charter on the same occasion. Hence types 262 (1128-1131), and 255 (1131-1135) are in plentiful evidence upon our Exeter coins. That he held the *tertius denarius* of the city is also inferred by the evidence of the charters of Queen Matilda, who died in 1118, of Queen Adelaide, and of the King at Northampton (in 1131), granting and confirming the remaining "*two parts of the revenue of the City of Exeter*" to the Priory of the Holy Trinity at London. Hence the curious entry in the 1130 Pipe Roll that "£25 12s. 6d. of the *firma* of the city of Exeter was paid by the Sheriff to the Canons of the Holy Trinity at London."

The mint was continued intermittently until the time of the Edwards, and revived once or twice in comparatively modern times.

COINS.

✠[Æ]LFINE ON IEX ✠HENRI REX 254

Montagu Sale, 1896, £3 14s. This moneyer
had coined here up to 1090.

.. LFPINE : ON : EX ... ✠hENRI REX 252

Sir John Evans. 22 grs.

✠BRAND : ON : E .. ST : ✠hENRIEVS R 262

Watford find. The moneyer is perhaps one of
the family of Brand who coined at Win-
chester and Wallingford for the Confessor.

✠BRAND : ON : EL . ST ✠hENRIEVS R 262

Sainthill's *Olla Podrida*. 22 grs.

✠BRhILDPI : ON EXCE : ✠hENRIEVS : 255

Watford find. Four specimens. BRhILDPI
= BRIhTPINE, a common moneyer's name.
He continued to coin in Stephen's reign in
this county.

✠BRhILDPI : ON : EXCE : ✠hENRIEVS 255

Sainthill's *Olla Podrida*. 22½ grs.

✠BRh EXCE : ✠ IEVS 255

British Museum.

.. BR EXCES : ✠hENRIEVS 255

Watford find.

.. PIIT (?) ON : EXCES 267

Bari find. PIIT is possibly misread for
[B]RNT = BRAND. See above.

... AWI : ON : EXCES ✚ hENRIE ... 255

Watford find. Probably for BRIhTWI

... ELhI : ON : EX hENRIEVS R 255

Watford find. Two specimens. Probably for
BRIhTPI.

✚ ON : EXCES : . hENRIEVS R 262

British Museum. Probably the moneyer
would be BRAND.

..... ON EXCES ✚ h S : 255

L. A. Lawrence. Probably from the Battle find.

Powell Sale, 1877. 255

GLOUCESTER.

GLEAWCEASTER, GLEAUCEASTER, GLEAWANCEASTER, GLOVE-
CEASTER, GLOVERNIA, GLAVORNA, GLEVUM; Domesday,
GLOWECESTRE; Pipe Roll, GLOECESTRE.

Gloucester was a British city and Roman station at the dawn of our history, and later the *Cair-Glow*, or "fair city" of Nennius. It was conquered by the Saxons in 577. Alfred the Great probably constituted it a royal city, for it is mentioned as such in a charter of Eadgar. Ethelfleda was buried and Athelstan died here. The Danes ravaged it on more than one occasion, and towards the close of the Saxon era it had become customary for the King to hold his Christmas Court at Gloucester.

1067. Brihtric, Ealdorman of Gloucestershire, was imprisoned at Winchester, and died there. His estates were given by William to his Queen Matilda, but these

- estates would not include the royal city. Nevertheless, she is said to have caused the citizens to be deprived of their charter of rights, and probably thus acquired the city.
1088. November 2nd.—Death of Queen Matilda. The city, if hers, would now revert to the King.
1086. Domesday notes.—In the Confessor's time the city paid £36 to the King, and certain royalties of honey and iron—the latter, no doubt, from the Forest of Dean—for nails for the King's ships. Now it returns £60 of 20 pennies to the ounce, and from the mint the King has £20. Sixteen houses had been demolished for the erection of the castle, and 14 were laid waste—probably burnt in the troubles of 1067. Walter de Gloucester, son of Roger de Pistres, was castellan of Gloucester.
1089. The present cathedral founded.
1090. The "Honour of Gloucester" formed by William II and granted to Robert Fitz Hamon. See Bristol for the devolution of the Honour and history of its grantees.
1100. July 15.—Consecration of the cathedral. (Florence.)
1101. "The city of Gloucester was destroyed by fire, together with the principal monastery (the cathedral) and others, on Thursday, the 6th of June. (Florence.)
1122. Lent.—"Fire fell on the top of the tower, and burned the whole monastery and all the treasures in it excepting a few books." (Sax. Chron.)
1123. Feb. 2.—"The King sent his writs over all England, and desired his bishops, his abbots, and his thanes, that they should all come to the meeting of his Witan at Gloucester on Candlemas Day, and they obeyed." (Sax. Chron.)
1124. Henry "sent Hugh de Montfort to England, and caused him to be put in strong bonds in the castle of Gloucester." (Sax. Chron.)
1180. Pipe Roll notes.—Milo Fitz Walter (de Gloucester) is sheriff of the county, and outlays £7 6s. 2d. on the work—probably a continuation of the building—of the "Tower" of Gloucester. "The burgesses of Gloucester owe 30 marks of silver if they should be able to recover their effects (*'pecuniam,'* see p. 179) by the King's justice, which were taken away from

them into Ireland." [This is probably an allowance originally made to the citizens as a set-off against the raid of "Harold's son with a fleet from Ireland" into the mouth of the Avon in 1067. See p. 119.] The city pays in *auxilium* £13 3s. 8d.

1134. Robert, Duke of Normandy, dies in Cardiff Castle, and is ceremoniously buried at Gloucester. (Wendover.)

The name of Gloucester first appears upon a coin of Alfred the Great. Coins of Athelstan were also struck here, and from Eadgar to the close of the Saxon period the name of every King appears on the coinage of this mint.

We have seen that Gloucester was a royal city and therefore the mint would belong to the King, though, as it is not mentioned in Domesday as returning *firma* to the Confessor, it was probably farmed to the citizens then, and included in the £36 and royalties they paid to him.

This would be under the charter of which Queen Matilda obtained the revocation in 1067. Gloucester must have suffered at that time before it submitted to William, as otherwise the fourteen houses mentioned in Domesday as laid waste are unaccounted for. On the revocation of the charter the city and mint would fall to the Queen and so remain until her death in 1083.

That Gloucester was again the King's in 1086 is clear from Domesday, and that the mint was then paying him a *firma* of £20. This would be a payment "by number"—twenty pennies being credited as an ounce, for it was not until the reign of Henry II that "one weight and money [value] were established throughout the Kingdom and every county bound by payment in a common standard." ("Dialogue of the Exchequer.")

In 1090, William II formed the Honour of Gloucester,

including the city of Bristol, and granted it to Robert Fitz Hamon. Therefore both mints passed to him as before described under Bristol.

On Henry's accession one would expect the same types to be struck here under Robert Fitz Hamon as at Bristol, viz., 254 (1102-4) and 253 (1104-1106). But in June, 1101, "the city of Gloucester was destroyed by fire," and so between the limits for such coinage, as explained under the former mint, namely from 1102 to the autumn of 1104, any coinage here was most unlikely.

The subsequent coinage of this mint has already been dealt with in detail under Bristol, and, therefore, it is unnecessary to repeat it here.

It will, however, be noticed that when the Gloucester mint re-opens under Earl Robert in 1121-1123, the event is recorded for us by the curious "mule" coin described and illustrated as Fig. O, under type 263, page 72. The obverse is of that type (1119-1121), but the reverse is of Hawkins' type IV (1121-1123). It is barely requisite, therefore, to remark that the coin itself could not have been issued until the latter date (1121-1123). Nor does it follow that the obverse was from a Gloucester die at all, for the mint had been dormant since the reign of Rufus, and the moneyer, to restore the coinage, would almost certainly have been imported from elsewhere. He probably brought this obverse die with him, as, if type 263 had ever been struck here, we should expect to find it represented in its entirety both here and at Bristol, which is not the case. Still, there is no objection on the ground of date to 263 having been a Gloucester type, for it was still current until about Michaelmas, 1121, which is well within Mr. Round's limits for the date of the creation of the Earldom of Gloucester.

The only difference it would make would either be that Robert received the charter of his earldom within the first six months of Mr. Round's limit of time, or that upon his marriage he received a first charter of confirmation in Fitz Hamon's Honour of Gloucester.

But there is a little affirmative evidence that this obverse die was really brought from the London mint. When Earl Robert revived the coinage here after an interval of so many years, the most natural mint for him to borrow a moneyer from would be that of his father at London. This moneyer at Gloucester spells his name ELFPINE on the mule coin (1121-1123) and ALFPINE on types 262 (1123-1131) and 255 (1131-1135). Now all these conditions fit in exactly with the history of ALFPINE of London, and as the question of the migration of moneyers is of some importance, this case in point may be taken as an example of the general system.

No man could or would undertake the responsibilities and dangers of the office of a moneyer unless he had first thoroughly acquired the experience and art of coining. We know that William Fitz Otho, the hereditary designer of the dies, had to serve his apprenticeship, and we may take it that amongst the moneyers—whose trade was so much akin to his—a similar system of apprenticeship prevailed. Therefore, when a mint had lain dormant for years, and the old moneyers had either died or obtained office in other mints, it was necessary, upon its revival, to obtain a qualified moneyer from elsewhere. He would initiate the first coinage, receive apprentices from the district, and, probably, when he was no longer required, return to his own people and town. Mr. L. A. Lawrence, therefore, was right when he pointed out, in his paper on the Barnstaple mint, in 1897, that our coins seem to indicate that,

in some instances at least, the same moneyer's name appears at more mints than one. A moneyer, too, who had once been chosen to initiate a coinage at a dormant mint would, for obvious reasons, be more likely to be again selected for a similar purpose at another.

ALFPINE, of London, had been coining there in every type, with one exception, between the years 1112 and 1121, his last type being 263 (1119—1121), which is that of the obverse die of this mule coin. He used both ALFPINE and ELFPINE as his name. He now disappears from our London coins, and the name ELFPINE appears at Gloucester, 1121-1123. The Gloucester mint again becomes dormant from 1123 to 1129, during Earl Robert's visits to Normandy, so Alfwine returns to London in the interim and we find his name on the coins of that mint of type 265 (1126-1128), but now spelt ALFPINE. In 1129 we find him once more at Gloucester, when the mint reopens with type 262 (1129-1131), also now as ALFPINE, and as such he continues to coin here on type 255 (1131-1135). But during this issue four other moneyers, probably his apprentices now duly qualified, join him. In 1133, on Earl Robert's return to Normandy, the Gloucester mint again becomes dormant, so ALFPINE's name appears on the remainder of the issue of 255 at London. Finally, when the Gloucester coinage is revived in Stephen's reign, we find him there once more.

Not only, therefore, do the types never overlap, but the moneyer who spelt his name with both A and E in London up to 1121 spells it with E at Gloucester in 1121-1123, then he finally adopts the form ALFPINE at London in 1126, and so it is similarly continued on the Gloucester coins after that date.

✠SAPINE : ON : GLOPE ✠hENRIEVS 255

Watford find. Two specimens. Sawine also coined here as late as Henry II's reign. The name appears on Saxon coins of Gloucester.

✠ThVR . . . : ON : GLOPEL : ✠hENRIEVS 255

J. G. Murdoch. Pl. VII, No. 11. From the Montagu 1896 Sale. A larger bust than usual. The moneyer may be the ThVREIL or TVREhIL coining on this type at Bristol.

✠WI . . . D ON : GLO 255

Watford find. The moneyer is probably the WIBERT who coined here for Stephen, and a "WIDARD" is mentioned in Domesday as one of the King's tenants at Gloucester.

✠WIBERD : ON : GLOP ✠hENRIEVS : 255

British Museum. From Mr. Rashleigh.

HADEW.

"HADEW" is given in Ruding's list of mints, and various attributions from Hedingham to Haddon have been attempted for it. As a matter of fact it is not the name of a mint, but is that of a moneyer, which has found its way into the wrong list. It is taken from the engraving, Ruding, Sup. ii., 2, 10, the reverse legend of which commences ✠hADEW. The coin is the one also illustrated, Hawkins 259, and is in the British Museum. In support of this correction it may be pointed out that HADEW (the Lombardic "h" is not used by Ruding in the letterpress of his work) is consequently omitted from the list of moneyers, which, of course, would not otherwise have occurred. The coin, however, is of one of the types here assigned to the reign of Stephen.

HASTINGS (SUSSEX).

HASTINGA-CEASTER, HÆSTINGA, HESTINGA, HESTING-PORT;
Domesday, HASTINGES; Pipe Roll, HASTINGA.

Although popular etymology derives Hastings from the name of the Danish chief Hastein, of Alfred's time, there are vestiges in the earthworks of the Castle which indicate a far more remote origin for the town. Athelstan would never have constituted a Danish foundation of 893 into a Saxon mint town of 928. Moreover, Hastings is mentioned in a charter of King Offa. Its historical importance, however, certainly dates from the epoch of the Danish wars, and a passage in the Saxon Chronicle, under the year 1011, infers that the Honour of Hastings had then already a separate jurisdiction from that of the county, viz. :—

“(The Danes had over-run) all Kent, and Sussex, and *Hastings*, and Surrey, and Berkshire, and Hampshire, and much of Wiltshire.”

In 1049 the men of Hastings captured two ships of Earl Sweyn's fleet, and in 1052 they joined Earl Godwin's revolt.

1066. “Then came William, Duke of Normandy, into Pevensey on the eve of St. Michaelmas; and, soon after they were on their way, they constructed a castle at Hesting-port.” (Saxon Chronicle.)

“Duke William went afterwards (after the battle) again to Hastings, and there awaited to see whether the people would submit to him.” (Saxon Chronicle.)

1068. Humphrey de Tilleul, “who had received the custody of Hastings from the first day it (the Norman castle) was built,” relinquished William's cause in England and was never able to recover his Honour or domains. (Orderic.)

1080-1086. Robert d'Eu receives from the King great

- revenues and Honours in England (Orderic). Amongst these was the Honour of Hastings.
1086. Domesday.—Except for an incidental reference under “Bexelei” to the time when “King William gave the castelry of Hastings to the Earl” (of Eu), there is no mention of this place in the Survey.
1089. Robert d’Eu is engaged in the Normandy wars, and mentioned as resident beyond the Seine. (Orderic.)
1090. Approximate date of his death. He is succeeded by his son William d’Eu.
1094. William II, on his way to Normandy, stays at Hastings during the dedication of Battle Abbey. Later in the year, 20,000 men are mustered here “in readiness for crossing the sea, but Ralph Passe-Flambard, by the King’s command, withheld the pay which had been allotted for their maintenance at the rate of ten pence for each man and ordered them to return to their homes; the money he remitted to the King.” (Florence.)
1096. At the Court at Salisbury, Geoffrey Bainard accused William d’Eu, the King’s relative, saying that he had been concerned in the conspiracy against the King, and for this cause he fought with him and overcame him in single combat; and after he (d’Eu) was vanquished the King commanded that his eyes should be put out.” (Saxon Chronicle.) He left a son Henry d’Eu.
1101. Henry I collects his forces at Hastings and Pevensey to oppose the landing of Duke Robert. (Hoveden; Saxon Chronicle.)
1101. Henry d’Eu witnesses the treaty between the King and Robert, Earl of Flanders, at Douvres, Normandy. (Fœdera.)
1103. Similarly the second treaty.
1104. Welcomes the King to Normandy. (Orderic.)
1118. Revolts in Normandy in favour of William Clito, son of Duke Robert, but is arrested there by Henry and thrown into prison until he surrenders his fortresses in Normandy. (Orderic.)
1119. August.—He, however, is the first named, after the King’s sons, amongst Henry’s chief supporters at the battle of Brémule. (Orderic.)
1127. Under this year, Orderic speaks of him as being again amongst those in arms for William Clito, and adds that a great number of these lords were made

prisoners and either disinherited or put to death. The passage may, however, refer to the previous revolt.

1130. Pipe Roll notes.—Henry d'Eu is evidently not in England, as he is only three times formally referred to throughout the Roll. William Fitz Robert de Hastings (probably his uncle) fails to account for the *Lestagium* (or ship customs) of Hastings and of Rye; but as no amount is stated his duty was probably to merely return that the fleet was equipped. A defective entry shows that . . . was paying fees "for a writ of right to the land of *Boneface* his relative."

To this mint was assigned one moneyer under Athelstan's Law, but we have no coins bearing its name until the reign of Ethelred II., when it seems to have had at least two moneyers at a time. We have already discussed under Dover the probability that the men of Hastings with those of the other south-coast towns, which were subsequently to become the Cinque Ports, received their privileges and mints by charters from Ethelred, in return for supplying the King's fleet. Hastings' contribution, similarly to that of Dover, was twenty-one ships fully manned for fifteen days in a year. This condition of affairs probably prevailed until the Conquest, and throughout that period there is a plentiful issue of coinage here bearing the name of every king. The number of moneyers seems to have been increased to three.

William, immediately on his landing, ravaged the district, and granted Hastings to Humphrey de Tilleul. The mint now became a private one, and followed the fortunes of its grantee. Hence, when in 1068 Humphrey returned to Normandy, its issue, which had been continued until then, was stopped. William was much incensed against those luxurious knights who gave up the struggle and returned home at that time, but it would not be for

several years that he could be assured that their desertion was to be permanent. Hence the expression in Orderic that "neither they nor their heirs were ever able to recover the honour and domains which they had already gained and relinquished on this occasion." The Lordship of Hastings, and consequently the mint also, lay dormant therefore until about the year 1082, when William granted the Honour to Robert D'Eu. The mint was then revived, but the number of moneyers reduced to two. In 1089 Robert joined the Normandy wars, and the mint was again closed until his son, William D'Eu, succeeded to Hastings. In 1096, at the instigation of his brother-in-law, the Earl of Chester (Orderic), D'Eu was accused of treason. He appealed to the ordeal of battle, was defeated, and practically executed by torture. This caused a forfeiture of his estate, and therefore the mint was in abeyance during the remainder of the reign.

On Henry's accession the heir, Henry D'Eu, was at once received into favour, no doubt because he was nephew to the King's Councillor, Hugh, Earl of Chester. With the exception of a visit to Tréport and Douvres in 1101, he is in England until 1103, and witnesses several charters, being no doubt present with Henry at Hastings in 1101. Types 251 (1100-1102) and 254 (1102-1104) are issued from this mint. He perhaps accompanies the Earl of Leicester and Robert Fitz Hamon to Normandy in 1103, for, with them, he "honourably receives" the King there in 1104; but as he is not mentioned as being present at the battle of Tinchebrai, he had probably returned home before that date, 1106. It was now that he granted his charter to Battle Abbey, for it was confirmed by Henry at Windsor (1107). Hence types 253 (1104-1106) and 252 (1106-1108) are struck at Hastings.

In 1107 he returns to Tréport in Normandy (*Tréport Chartulary*), and seems to have resided entirely in that country, for between that date and 1116 his name appears in several Normandy charters. Hence the English chroniclers do not mention him, and his mint at Hastings is dormant. This is supported by the evidence of Orderic that in 1118 he is one of the *Norman* Earls plotting treason in favour of William Clito. He is arrested there, but, no doubt to regain the King's confidence, takes a foremost part in the battle of Brémule in August, 1119. After this battle we are told that most of the barons engaged in it accompanied Henry on his return to England in November, 1120. The mint, therefore, immediately reopens with type IV (1121-1123), and this is followed by 258 (1123-1125). The Barnstaple charter proves that he must have returned to Normandy in 1124 or 1125, for he was at Perriers in 1125. In 1127 it would appear, from Orderic, that D'Eu is again in revolt in Normandy, and he seems never to have returned to England during the lifetime of King Henry. He was certainly not in England in 1130, or we should hear more of him in the Pipe Roll; or in 1131, when he would have attended the great council of Northampton, which he failed to do. On the other hand the charters to Fécamp and St. Wandrille's, Rouen, prove him to have been in Normandy in 1130 and 1131. From 1125, therefore, to the end of the reign the mint is again dormant.

It is unfortunate that the entry in the Roll relating to the land of Boneface is defective, for the name is so unusual that it, in all probability, refers to the moneyer whose name BONIFACE appears on type IV (1121-1123). So uncommon is it, at least as a *lay* name, that it does not occur upon any other coin or in any other early

Roll or charter. Boneface is dead, and a relative, probably also a moneyer, is claiming his land. The writ "*pro recto*," as we have seen on page 115, discloses more than a mere succession, and suggests the possibility that Boneface had been one of the victims of the great Inquisition of 1125, and that his relative (*cognatus*), not being a son, petitioned against the forfeiture of his property.

Hastings was the chief seat of the D'Eus in Stephen's time, and its coinage was then plentiful, but the mint was finally closed towards the end of that reign.

COINS.

✠BARLVIT ON ÆIS ✠HENRI REX 254

British Museum. The moneyer's name is probably a form of BARTLEET (Bartelot). A branch of this family held Stopham, Sussex, temp. Richard II.

✠BONIFACE ON HAS ✠HENRIEVS REX : IV

Montagn, 1896, £2; Marsham, 1888, £3 5s.; and Bergne, 1873, £1 10s., Sales. Engraved Ruding, Sup. ii., 2, 6. A quatrefoil over the right shoulder on the obverse and a pellet in each angle of the reverse cross. As to the moneyer, see above.

✠DRMAN ON HIEST ✠HNII REX N 251

British Museum. From the Cuff Sale, 1854, £2 10s. As DRMAN (for DEORMAN) similarly occurs on the Steyning coins of William I and II, this is probably the same moneyer.

✠DVNINE : ON : HA . . ✠HENRI RE 252

J. Verity. From the Allen Sale, 1898, and

probably Sir Henry Ellis' coin in 1869. The Dunines had coined here since the Confessor's time.

✠DVNI . E O✠N hASTI hE . RE 258

British Museum. **Pl. VI. No. 4.** Engraved, Ruding, Sup. ii., 2, 14, and Hawkins, 258. Formerly in the collection of Mr. B. C. Roberts. *Obv.*—A quatrefoil (probably two if the coin were distinct) before the sceptre. *Rev.*—✠DVNI[N]E O' in the outer space, and ✠N hASTI in the inner. In the centre, a small cross (almost obliterated by a fracture). This moneyer was probably son of the above.

✠GODRIC ON HSTIE ✠HENRI REX 253

British Museum. Probably from the Tyssen Sale, 1802. A Godric coined here for Rufus.

Specimen, Tyssen Sale, 1802 253

HEREFORD.

HEREFORDIA, HAREFORDIA; Domesday, HEREFORD and HEREFORD-PORT; Pipe Roll, HEREFORD.

The neighbourhood of Hereford is studded with the vestiges of a prehistoric race, whose industry in the art of war is evidenced by tier above tier of vallum and fosse upon nearly every natural stronghold. But the origin of the City itself is shrouded in obscurity. If, however, it had been existent during the Roman occupation, it is unlikely that the legions would have chosen Kenchester, some three miles away, for the site of their great camp in this district in preference to a British city already

established. Therefore, the tradition of its early Saxon foundation seems warranted by theory at least. The Hereford district fell into the hands of the Saxons about the close of the sixth century, and a hundred years later the See was established. Then for the first time the city itself seems to be mentioned in our chronicles. In 918 the men of Hereford and of Gloucester defeated the Danish army in the West, and so established their prowess that the city of Hereford was one of the few in England which escaped the general devastation of those wars. In 1055, however, the city was burnt, and the great Saxon minster plundered by the mixed army of Irish, Welsh, and Mercians under Algar, the outlawed earl.

1067. "Child Edric (the Wild) and the Welsh were disturbed this year and fought with the men of the castle at Hereford, to whom they did much harm." (Saxon Chronicle.) William grants the "County of Hereford" to his cousin William Fitz Osborn, giving to him and to Walter de Lacy the charge of defending the Marches. (Orderic.)

1071. King William sends Fitz Osborn to Normandy, of which country he was High Steward, to assist Queen Matilda in the defence of the duchy (Orderic), where he was slain on the 20th of February.

He was succeeded in his earldom of Hereford and his other possessions in England by his second son, Roger de Breteuil, "for King William thus distributed his inheritance amongst his sons." (Orderic.)

1075. Earl Roger fortifies Hereford and joins the rebellion of Ralph de Guader and Waltheof. He is summoned to the King's court, convicted of treason, and "detained in captivity, even after the King's death, until his own death released him from it. His two sons, Reynold and Roger, young men of great promise, who are now (probably about the year 1130) in the service of King Henry and in great distress, are waiting for the exercise of his clemency, which appears to them sufficiently tardy." (Orderic.)

1086. Domesday notes.—In the Confessor's time the

resident garrison of Hereford numbered 104 within and without the wall, and had their customs as set out in detail. These customs provided for the defence of the city and for forays against the Welsh. "There were seven moneyers here. One of these was the moneyer of the Bishop. When the money was renewed (*i.e.*, the type changed) each of them gave eighteen shillings for receiving the dies, and within one month afterwards each of them gave to the King twenty shillings, and likewise the Bishop had twenty shillings from his moneyer. When the King came into the city the moneyers made as many pennies for him as he chose, but, of course, of the King's silver, and these seven had their *sac* and *soc*. In case of the death of a moneyer of the King, the King had a duty of twenty shillings; but if the moneyer died intestate, the King had all his effects. If the Sheriff went with a force into Wales, these men went with him. If any summoned did not go he forfeited forty shillings to the King."

Now the King has the city of Hereford in lordship. This city returns to the King sixty pounds "by number in standard pennies (*"candidis denariis"*). It is mentioned that the burgesses retain the above-mentioned customs with certain modifications in favour of Norman citizens.

1100. Gerard, Bishop of Hereford, raised to the Archbishopric of York.

1102. A charter executed by King Henry "at Hereford," and witnessed by Urso d'Abetot of Worcester, shows the King to have been here about this date, as Urso died early in the reign.

Roger, the King's Larderer, appointed Bishop, but dies before consecration. Raynelm, the Queen's Chancellor, appointed, but refuses investiture pending settlement of the King's dispute with Anselm.

1107. Is duly elected and consecrated.

1115. Death of Bishop Raynelm. Geoffrey, the King's Chaplain, succeeds. (Florence.) It is now that the Norman cathedral is consecrated.

1119. February 8rd. Death of Bishop Geoffrey. Richard, the Vice-Chancellor, succeeds, 1120. (Monasticon.)

1127. Bishop Richard dies at Ledbury.

1130. Pipe Roll notes.—The See at this time is vacant, and therefore we find Geoffrey, the King's Chancellor,

returning £4 12s. 6d. [arrears of] the previous year's *firma* of the diocese. As he also accounts for £8 17s. 2d. [arrears of] the previous year, and £104 9s. 6d. for the current year's *firma* of the manors of which he had the custody, these no doubt include Hereford. He has evidently been only recently appointed Chancellor, for he owes £3,006 13s. 4d. for the seal—an enormous sum in those days. Under Pembroke, we find the entry, “Gillopatric, the moneyer, accounts for £4, for forfeit of the previous year's money” (*p forisf vetis monete*. *Veteris* is used throughout the Roll for the previous year).

1131. Robert de Betun appointed Bishop.

Although not mentioned in Athelstan's Law, the name of this mint first appears upon his coins, but only one moneyer seems to have then been in office. As his name (HVNLAFF) occurs on Eadmund's coins, no doubt coinage was continued here, for when types were issued on the older principle of bearing a moneyer's name alone, it is almost impossible to locate the mint. This, as previously explained, must be understood to apply to all mints existing prior to the reign of Ethelred II. Hereford again appears on the coins of Eadwig, and from Ethelred II to Harold II coinage here is continued. The number of moneyers is gradually increased until under Canute—in corroboration of Domesday—we find the names of seven upon the coins of this mint. We can even distinguish that of the Bishop, for on the dies of one of them appears as a difference an annulet or ring—the symbol of Episcopalian investiture (see Peterborough and York).

Domesday gives us some interesting details of the monetary system prevailing here in the days of the Confessor. These, except for the special provision that the moneyers should accompany the Sheriff in his expeditions against the Welsh, may be taken as applying generally to the customs of all the *Royal* mints at that

period—subject, of course, to variations in the amounts of the fees according to the value of the output of the local mint. They are quite clear and concise, and comment is unnecessary, save upon this. The Bishop, it will be observed, received the fees from his moneyer, and even on that moneyer's death the King had no relief, for the Bishop was a grantee; so in all the grantees' mints the fees of the moneyers were received by the bishops or lords, and the King had nothing whatever to do with them; which is exactly the theory of this work.

Upon the Conquest all this is changed. William grants the Earldom of Hereford, and therefore the mint with it, to his relative William Fitz Osborn. Coinage therefore becomes intermittent. The number of moneyers is reduced to three, and, so far as we can infer, the Bishop's privilege, not being one established by the Law of Athelstan, but only held at the King's will, had not been confirmed to him, and would thus lapse into the general grant to the earl. Fitz Osborn dies in 1071, and is succeeded by his son, Roger de Breteuil. He in 1075 is disinherited for rebellion, and with him the house of Fitz Osborn disappears from the history of Hereford.

If the mint of Hereford had been created by charter to William Fitz Osborn as grantee it would now lapse, but this was not the case. It was always a royal mint until William I granted the earldom, together with all his rights and privileges therein, to Fitz Osborn. In other words, the King assigned his existing privileges to the Earl, and therefore, on the escheat for treason, the earl's enjoyment only of the privileges was forfeited, not the privileges themselves.

It is doubtful, however, whether William at first intended this forfeiture to be permanent, for he hesitated a

long time as to the punishment of Waltheof in the same conspiracy. Earl Roger, on being summoned to the court for trial, had the courage to attend, and Orderic implies that William would have subsequently pardoned him, for he adds that even in prison "he caused the King great annoyance, and rendered him implacable by his obstinate contumacy." Hence for some years the mint lies dormant, waiting events.

In the Confessor's time the city had returned only £18, but in 1086 it is in lordship to the King at a *firma* of £60, so it is probable that when William in 1081 "led his army into Wales" (Sax. Chron.), he finally re-entered into possession of the earldom and farmed the city, together with the mint, to the burgesses at the increased *firma* of £60. This would account for the three moneys of the earl's time, instead of the seven of the Confessor's, appearing upon our Hereford coins from about the year 1082 to the death of William II.

Earl Roger's two sons seem, from Orderic's description of them, to have been born subsequently to their father's fall. They are brought up at Henry's court, and are evidently in the full expectation of succeeding to the earldom. Henry on his accession may have intended to reinstate them and therefore never confirmed the charter to the burgesses. But it is more likely that the citizens were implicated in the neighbouring rebellion at Shrewsbury under Robert de Belême as their feudal Lord of the Marches. A charter of Henry I. granted at Hereford, and witnessed by Urso d'Abetot, who died early in the reign, suggests that after quelling the revolt at Shrewsbury and Bridgnorth in 1102, the King marched his army to Hereford, perhaps to restore order in that city also. It is at least significant that the two ancient and

prolific mints of Hereford and Shrewsbury are now simultaneously discontinued and remain dormant for many years.

In 1127 Richard, Bishop of Hereford, dies, and the Pipe Roll tells us that in 1129-30 Geoffrey the Chancellor is the collector not only of the revenues of the diocese, but also "of the manors which he has in custody." This probably means the forfeited earldom, as otherwise the Roll must be imperfect here, for there is no other return for Hereford. He has recently been appointed, and thus it is only natural that he should now revive the King's coinage in the city, and to do so he introduces that general reviver of the art of coinage, the itinerant moneyer EDRIEVS of Bristol and Bedford (see under those mints). Types 262 (1128-1131) and 255 (1131-1135) therefore now appear.

To explain the next note from the Roll it is necessary to again revert to Domesday. The custom that the moneyers of Hereford should accompany their Sheriff in his expeditions into Wales shows that they held their office by special military service. This, coupled with their *sac* and *soc*, shows them to have been freemen of considerable status. Although their number in 1128 had been reduced to three, they would still be liable to this service, and to the fine of £2 each in default. On type 255 and in Stephen's reign, we have the names of the three moneyers coining here, but on type 262, which includes the year 1128, we have that of only one. The entry therefore in the 1129-30 Roll that Gillopatrie the moneyer accounts for £4 for forfeit of the previous year's money (? monetary service) suggests that in 1127 or 1128 there had been an expedition into Wales which two of the hereditary moneyers had failed to attend.

This is the more probable because a charter to Malvern Priory proves that the King passed through Hereford in 1127. These absentees would be fined £2 each, so Gillopatric pays £4 for himself and the other moneyer, who was, perhaps, a near relative—in the same Roll, Algar and Spracheling, moneyers of London, are fined jointly. Or it may be that the contracted passage “Gillopatric monetari redd copot” stands for “Gillo 7 Patric monetarii,” &c., thus giving us the names of the two missing moneyers, viz., William and Patric. This accounts for the absence of the name Gillopatric in either form upon any of our coins, and for the fact that only the third moneyer’s name, Edricus, appears on the current type, 262, for both the defaulters would naturally lose their office. Perhaps, too, this expedition into Pembrokeshire was the indirect cause of the deposit of the Milford Haven hoard.

During the following reign the earldom was again revived by charter in favour of Milo de Gloucester, from which date, 1141 (Round), coinage here once more becomes of an intermittent character, and so continues until the mint is finally closed in the time of Henry III.

COINS.

✠EINRI : ON : hERE ✠hENRIEVS R 255

Engraved Withy and Ryall, ii., 26. The moneyer’s name is probably misread for
✠EDRIE.

✠DERIEVS : ON : hE . . ✠hENRIEVS R : 262

Watford find. The moneyer’s name is EDRIEVS—as to whom, see above—but the E and D have been transposed. Compare DRD6AR for ORD6AR, of London.

✠EDRIEVS ON hERE ✠hENRIEVS : 255

Watford find.

✠EDRIEVS ON hERE ✠hENRIEVS 255

Simpson Rostron Sale, 1892; Martin, 1859;
and probably Tyssen, 1802.

✠EDRIEVS : ON : hERE ✠hENRIEVS : 255

J. G. Murdoch. **Pl. VII. No. 8.** From
Marsham, 1888, and Richardson, 1895, £18
5s., Sales. Probably the above specimen.

✠EDRIE : ON : hERE ✠hENRIEVS 255

Victoria Institute, Worcester. Lent by the
Corporation for this note.

✠FDRIE . . ON hERE 255

Battle find, and Marsham, 1888, Sale.

✠EDPINE : ON hEREF : ✠hENRIEVS - 255

British Museum. From the Durrant, 1847,
Sale.

✠ED . . NE : ON : hER ✠hENRIEVS 255

British Museum.

✠hERIEVS : ON : hE. See ✠DERIEVS.

✠[P]ÆRIE : ON : hEREF : ✠hENRIEVS 255

Watford find. Two specimens. A PIERIE,
probably the same moneyer, coined here for
Stephen.

✠. ÆRIE : ON : hEREF ✠hENRIEVS 255

(Reference missing.)

Specimens. Brown Sale, 1869 . . . 255

Tyssen Sale, 1802 . . . 255

HUNTINGDON.

HUNTANDUN, HUNTANDENE, HUNTANTUN, HUNTUNDONA; Domesday, HUNTEDUN; Pipe Roll, HUNTEDONA; Charters, HUNTEDON, &c.

As in the cases of Salisbury, Hereford, and Derby, Huntingdon does not now occupy the exact site of its Roman foundation, which was at Godmanchester, upon the opposite bank of the river. From a reference to this town as Huntingdon-Port in the *A. S. Chronicle's* transcript of the foundation charter of Peterborough Monastery, A.D. 657, its Roman origin seems assured, for its position is clearly that of one of the *portæ* or stations on the Ermine Street. The modern Huntingdon, however, was already a fortified burg in 921, for the same authority tells us, under that year, that the Danes retired thence before Edward the Elder, who rebuilt the place and manned it. In the following century, Huntingdon and Northampton fell under the sway of Siward the Strong, Earl of Northumbria. After his death in 1055, the two former earldoms were separated from the Northern fief and ultimately descended in the direct line to Waltheof, who held them at the date of the Conquest.

Writing about the year 1134, *Henry of Huntingdon* describes his own town as follows:—

“The river Ouse washes three fortified places, which are the chief towns of the counties of Bedford, Buckingham, and Huntingdon. Huntingdon, that is, ‘the hill of hunters,’ stands on the site of Godmanchester, once a famous city, but now only a pleasant village on both sides of the river. It is remarkable for the two castles before mentioned [the Saxon or Danish *burh*, and the Norman *keep*], and for its sunny aspect, as well as for its beauty, besides its contiguity to the Fens, and the abundance of wild fowl and animals of the chase.” (Forester.)

1067. William I returned to Normandy in Lent and took with him, no doubt as hostages, "Child Edgar, and Edwin the Earl and Morcar the Earl, and Waltheof, the Earl, and many other good men of England." (Sax. Chron.)
1068. On his return the King erected a castle at Huntingdon, and garrisoned it. (Orderic.)
1069. Waltheof revolts in the North, and is one of the leaders of the Danes against the garrison of York. (Orderic.)
1070. He is reconciled to the Conqueror, who gives him his niece Judith in marriage, and "confers" [? confirms] the earldom of Northampton ["and Huntingdon," in a second passage] on Waltheof, son of Earl Siward, the most powerful of the English nobility." (Orderic.)
1075. Waltheof is implicated in Ralph de Guarder's rebellion, and pleads for pardon before the King in Normandy. (Sax. Chron.)
1076. May 31st.—On the King's return he is convicted "upon the testimony of his wife Judith," and beheaded at Winchester. (Orderic.)
1086. Domesday notes.—In the Burg of Huntingdon there were in the Confessor's time, and are now (altogether), 256 burgesses paying customs and taxes to the King, and 112 houses laid waste. Of these most seem to have been demolished before the time of the Confessor, and therefore, probably, by the Danes in 921. The Bishop of Lincoln formerly had a residence, and there were twenty other houses on the site of the castle, but now demolished. The Countess Judith has eighteen homesteads, with *sac* and *soc* and *tol* and *team*, and a manor-house (*mansionem cum domo*) free from customs, which formerly Earl Siward had. The burg was formerly rated for a fourth part of the Hurstingstone hundred, but not "since King William laid the tax of the mint on the burg." £10 was paid in the Confessor's time for land tax, of which the Earl had the third part, and as *firma*, £20 to the King, and £10, either more or less as he was able to levy it, to the Earl. The mill paid 40s. to the King and 20s. to the Earl. "In this burg there were four moneyers paying 40s. between the King and Earl, but now they are not." In the time of the Confessor and now the burg paid £30.

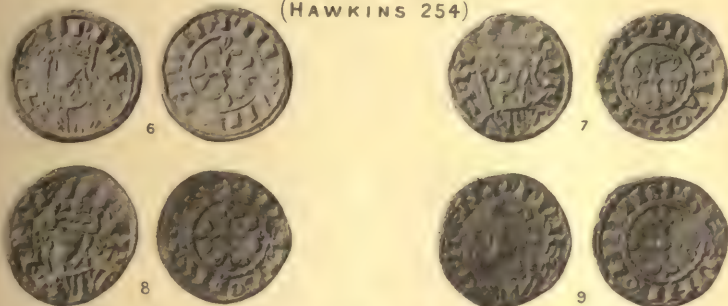




TYPE I
(HAWKINS 251)



TYPE II
(HAWKINS 254)



TYPE III
(HAWKINS 253)





TYPE IV
(HAWKINS 252)



TYPE V
(HAWKINS 256)



TYPE VI
(HAWKINS 257)





TYPE VII
(HAWKINS 267)



TYPE VIII
(HAWKINS 266)



TYPE IX
(HAWKINS 264)





TYPE X
(HAWKINS 263)



TYPE XI
(HAWKINS IV)





TYPE XII
(HAWKINS 258)



TYPE XIII
(HAWKINS 265)





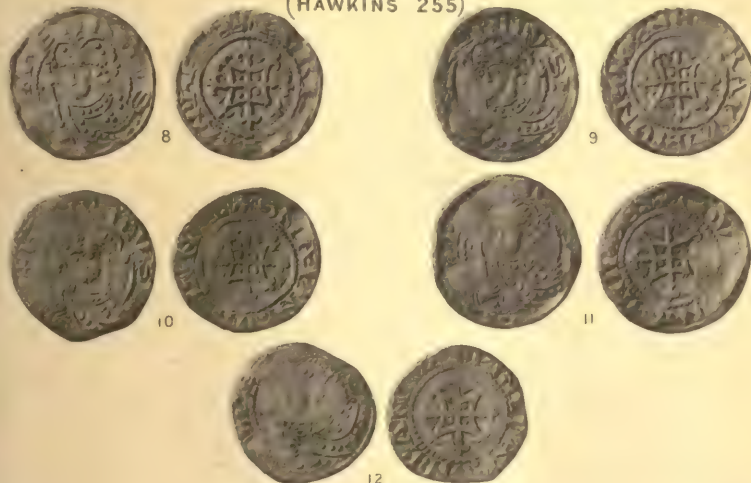
TYPE XIII
(HAWKINS 265)
(Contd.)



TYPE XIV
(HAWKINS 262)



TYPE XV
(HAWKINS 255)





- 1086-7. "Waltheof had three daughters by his wife, the daughter of the Countess of Albemarle. . . . Simon de St. Liz married the eldest, and received the County of Huntingdon with her; and by her he had one son, called Simon." (Robert de Monte.) The date is deduced from the fact that Earl Simon was evidently not married when Domesday was compiled, and yet the Register of St. Andrew's Priory at Northampton tells us that William I gave Maud in marriage to Simon de St. Liz, together with the whole Honour of Huntingdon. Orderic adds that "he held the two Counties of Northampton and Huntingdon as Earl in her right."
1100. Earl Simon witnesses Henry's Coronation charter.
1101. Witnesses the Bath, Norwich, and other charters in England.
- 1102-3. Joins the Crusades and is absent for about five years.
- 1108-9. Returns and witnesses the Lenton and Ely charters at Nottingham.
1109. Visits Normandy and witnesses the Longueville charter at Rouen.
1109. His death, late in the year.
1113. The King gives Maud, the Earl's widow, in marriage to David, Earl of Cumbria (the south-western division of Scotland), who, in her right, succeeds Earl Simon as Earl of Northampton and Huntingdon. From the date of the marriage of his sister to King Henry, Prince David had resided at the English Court, but, after the death of his brother Edgar, King of Scotland, in 1107, he returned to that country as heir presumptive to the Crown, and, from the date of his own marriage, at least, seems to have resided there.
1121. January. Attends Henry's marriage at Windsor. Witnesses a charter to Westminster on that occasion as "Earl David." (Round.)
1124. April 24. Succeeds to the Crown of Scotland. (Melrose.)
1127. January 1. At London, swears fealty to the Empress Matilda as successor to the English throne. (Melrose.)
- 1129-30. "King David was ably applying himself to a cause in King Henry's Court, and carefully examining a charge of treason of which, they say, Geoffrey de Clinton had been guilty." (Orderic.)

Pipe Roll notes.—Geoffrey de Clinton is the King's Justiciary in Huntingdonshire, and so King David's inquiry into "the false" charge of treason would be in his comital qualification as Earl of the county. The various expenses of escorting the King of Scotland to the English court and of his return to Scotland are entered under several counties, showing that he returned before September 29th, 1130. The Burg of Huntingdon pays £8 *in auxilium*, and the cloth weavers 40s. for their guild.

1131. Death of Maud, Waltheof's daughter and Queen of Scotland.

The mint of Huntingdon was doubtless established by Eadwig, as his coins are the earliest as yet noticed, which bear its name. This was within some five-and-thirty years after Edward the Elder had "rebuilt the place and manned it." Coinage was continued under all Eadwig's Saxon successors and in the time of the Confessor there were three moneyers in office.

The record in Domesday, "in this burg there were three moneyers paying 40s. between the King and Earl, but now they are not," shows that the Saxon Earl formerly had the *tertius denarius* of the mint. He held the mint therefore by the same tenure as he held the burg, and both were under his direct control.

Immediately after the Conquest Waltheof seems to have submitted to William, as, in the Lent following, he accompanied the King to Normandy. In 1069 he joined the Northern insurrection and in person kept the gate at York against the Norman attack. It speaks well for King William's generosity that, in the following year, he should not only restore Waltheof to favour, but also give him his niece Judith in marriage and regrant to him his former earldom of Huntingdon and Northampton. But in 1075 the Earl was implicated in the East Anglian

conspiracy, and after considerable hesitation on the King's part was executed at Winchester, in May, 1076. The joint earldom thus became extinct because of the forfeiture for treason, but, in any case, it would have been dormant, as Waltheof only left issue three daughters. The mint therefore also fell into abeyance; but it was a *quasi* Royal mint, being as to two-thirds of its revenue the prerogative of the Crown, and so, as in the exactly parallel instance of Hereford, it was presently revived.

There is no clearer evidence in support of the theory running through this volume than the case of Huntingdon. The earldom became extinct in 1076; Domesday tells us that in 1086 the three moneyers who used to pay 40s. between the King and Earl "are not," and yet at that very time we have the evidence of the Huntingdon coins to show us that the mint was in full operation. The explanation is contained in the previous sentence, "the burg was formerly rated for a fourth part of the Hurstingstone hundred, but not since King William laid the tax of the mint on the burg." Therefore, as in the case of Dorchester, the King had farmed the mint to the burgesses in the *firma* of their burg. But in this instance we have direct evidence that he had done so, whereas at Dorchester and several other places we can only infer it. Surely this incidental reference to the tax of the Huntingdon mint should, once for all, clench the fact that only those moneyers are mentioned in Domesday from whom the King drew, in whole or in part, a direct revenue—hence the apparent contradiction that although the mint is referred to as being in the hands of the burgesses, the moneyers, as royal moneyers, no longer exist.

In 1086 Maud, the eldest daughter of Waltheof, would probably be about fifteen years of age and, in accordance

with the Norman custom of early marriages, the Conqueror bestowed her upon one of his Senlac followers, Simon de St. Liz, "together with the whole Honour of Huntingdon." As in the later, but very similar instance, of Gloucester, this must have been followed by a grant of the earldom of Northampton and Huntingdon, for as early as in 1090 St. Liz witnesses the Bath charter as "Symon Comes." Although of two counties the earldom seems to have been a single creation and the title of Northampton to have been then usually preferred. This revival of the earldom would revoke the transfer of the mint to the burg and restore it to its former status under the earl. No doubt its *firma* also was again similarly divided between the King and Earl, and its output would thus, once more, become intermittent according to Earl Simon's presence in, or absence from, England.

In 1100 Earl Simon was in England and witnessed Henry's Coronation charter, so there is no reason why type 251 should not be in evidence from this mint, but as yet it seems to be missing. He was at Windsor in September 1101, as appears by the Norwich and Bath charters, and remained in England until some date in 1102 or 1103, when he joined the Crusades. Hence type 254 (1102-1104) now appears of the Huntingdon mint. He remained abroad until late in 1107 or early in 1108, when he returned and granted the foundation charter of St. Andrew's Priory, Northampton, and witnessed that of Lenton Priory. In the following year his name appears in the Ely charter granted at Henry's council at Nottingham, October 16th, 1109; but immediately afterwards he must have crossed the Channel, for he died at Charité-sur-Loire in the same year. Thus he was only in England for a few months and consequently we appear

to have no coins issued by his authority upon this occasion. He left one son, Simon II, then a minor.

From 1109 to 1113 the earldom was in abeyance and therefore the mint could not be in operation. In or about the latter year the King gave Maud of Huntingdon, Earl Simon's widow, to David, Prince of Cumbria. From the date of the marriage of his sister Matilda to King Henry in 1100, David had been resident at the English Court, but by the will of his elder brother Edgar, King of Scotland, he succeeded in 1107 to the south-western division of that kingdom, which he ruled almost as an independent Prince. Oddly enough the last English charter which he seems to have witnessed while still domiciled in England, is that of St. Andrew's Priory, Northampton, granted by his future wife and Earl Simon in 1107-08. He then returned to Scotland, and at the date of his marriage in 1113 was resident near Glasgow. Orderic tells us that upon his marriage he possessed the two Counties of Northampton and Huntingdon in right of his wife, and from that date to the time of his accession to the Scottish crown we almost invariably find him described in charters as "Earl David." The question is, was he created Earl of Northampton and Huntingdon? At this time Maud's son by her first marriage must have been approaching manhood, and to grant David the earldom would have been to divert it entirely from him. It is therefore more probable that it was now divided, and that Henry created David Earl of Huntingdon only, but gave him the custody of the earldom of Northampton in right of his wife. This is supported by the facts that one of Henry's charters is addressed to him as "Earl of Huntingdon," and in later times, although always the subject of a family feud, the descendants of David claimed the

earldom of Huntingdon, whilst that of Northampton devolved upon the family of St. Liz. From the time of his marriage to the year 1120 David remained in Scotland, where, amongst others, his name appears in the Selkirk charter of 1113, the Glasgow episcopal appointment of 1115, the Jedburgh charter of 1118, and the Glasgow inquisition edict of 1120. Hence coinage at Huntingdon was impossible. In January, 1121, we find his name as a witness to two charters to Westminster granted at Windsor. As Mr. Round points out, this was upon the occasion of his brother-in-law King Henry's second marriage, which it is suggested, he came over specially to attend and stayed but a few days in England. If a charter of Hugh de la Val to Pontefract Priory may be relied upon — although its witnesses are out of the customary order—he paid another visit to Henry in December, 1122, but only met him at York. In April, 1124, he succeeded his brother Alexander on the throne of Scotland, and remained in that country until December, 1126, when he again made a special journey to the English Court, this time to pay homage for his English possessions upon his accession and to swear fealty at London to the Empress Matilda, as heiress presumptive to the Crown. As, up to this date, we only know of these three visits, of the first and second by the appearance of his name on the charters, and of the third by the record of his fealty, we may assume that they were merely fleeting appearances, for had so important a personage as a Prince, and later a King of Scotland, remained any length of time in this country, his presence would have been recorded over and over again; as, indeed, it was, very soon afterwards. It would have been impracticable therefore for David to have obtained the necessary dies and instituted a coinage at

Huntingdon upon any one of these occasions. But in 1129-30 David came over to England and spent a whole year here. It was as Earl of Huntingdon that he held the enquiry touching the alleged treason of Geoffrey de Clinton, the King's justiciary for that county, and his object in remaining so long a time was no doubt the general administration of his earldom. Now, and now only, during the latter half of the reign of Henry I are the privileges of the mint exercised at Huntingdon, and type 262 (1128-1131) is in evidence.

King David did not again set foot in England during this reign, and so the mint remained closed. It was reopened in Stephen's time, probably by David's son Prince Henry, Earl of Huntingdon, and ceased to exist coincidentally with his death.

COINS.

✠DERLIG : ON : hVNTFO : . . NBIEVS RE 262

Watford find.

✠DERLIG : ON hV . . F . : ✠hENRIEVS R 262

P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton.

✠SEFPINE ON HVT ✠HENRI RIEX 254

Hunterian Museum, Glasgow University. **Pl. II,**
No. 9. Engraved, Ruding, Sup. i., 4. A
pellet instead of the annulet in the centre of
the reverse cross. This moneyer—Sefwine
—had coined here in the previous reign.

On page 96 this mint is given under type 255
instead of under 254.

IPSWICH (SUFFOLK).

GIPESWIC, GYPESWICH ; Domesday, GEPESWIZ ; Pipe Roll,
GEPESWIC.

Excavations at Ipswich have disclosed Roman remains, but it is remarkable that a town, which in the eleventh century contained one of the largest populations in England, should figure so rarely in our early records. Its name, however, appears in the will of Theodred, Bishop of Elmham, *circa* 960, and contemporaneously upon our coins of Edgar.

The Saxon Chronicle tells us that, in 991, Ipswich was ravaged, and in 1010 the Danes again invaded the district.

1069. The Danes disembark at Ipswich and commence raiding the neighbourhood, but the inhabitants slay thirty of them and put the rest to flight.

1075. The conspiracy and fall of Ralph de Guader, Earl of East Anglia (see pages 211, 215, 220, 242, 326-27). He is driven into exile, and subsequently dies in the first Crusade. His estates, which included Ipswich, were confiscated.

1082. Ipswich seems now to have been granted to Roger Bigod as the King's Castellan.

1086. Domesday notes.—Roger Bigod has the custody of half the Hundred and of the burg of Ipswich "*in manu Regis*." In the time of the Confessor, Queen Edith held two parts of it, and Earl Gurth (Harold's brother) the third part. There were then 538 burgesses in the burg paying customs to the King. They had 40 acres of land; and paid a *firma* of £15 and six sextaries of honey, and also 4s. in customs of honey and 8s. to the prebendaries. The churches of the Holy Trinity, St. Mary, St. Augustine, St. Michael, St. Botolph, and St. Lawrence are mentioned.

Now there are 110 burgesses who pay customs, and 100 impoverished burges-ses who are only able to pay one penny as tax to the King for their civil rights. 323 houses are waste in the burg, which in the time of King Edward paid scot to the King's taxes. Roger

the Sheriff let the whole at a *firma* of £40 [payable] at the feast of St. Michael. Afterwards he was not able to maintain the assessment, and from this he allowed 60s. ; now it returns £37.

“And the moneyers paid in the time of King Edward £4 per annum for the mint. Now they ought to pay £20, but in the course of four years they have only paid £27. And the Earl always has the third part.”

In a later passage it is mentioned that Earl Alan of Brittany held the other half of the Hundred of Ipswich and the *tertius denarius* of the burg, in all but £15.

- 1100. Roger Bigod witnesses Henry I's Coronation charter (Wendover), and is appointed upon his Council. (Orderic.)
- 1100-7. Roger Bigod witnesses many English charters.
- 1107. September 15th. Dies, and is buried in the Priory at Thetford. (Orderic.) He left two sons, William and Hugh.
- 1113. William Bigod, in Normandy, witnesses the charter of St. Evroul. (Orderic.)
- 1119. Probable date of William Bigod's confirmation charter to Thetford Priory and of his attestation of the Romsey charter.
- 1120. November 25th. William Bigod perishes in the “White Ship.”
- 1122. December. Hugh Bigod witnesses Hugh de la Val's charter to Pontefract.
- 1123. Witnesses the Plympton charter at Henry's Court.
- 1125. In Normandy, witnesses the Foundation charter of Reading Abbey.
- 1130. Pipe Roll notes.—The burg pays £7 *auxilium*. William Bigod, at the time of his death, owed £100 on account of his fees, which his brother [Hugh] will pay for him, if the King should wish. Hugh Bigod receives £10 from the Sheriff's receipts for the County of Norfolk and £10 similarly from that of Suffolk.
- 1131. Hugh Bigod attends the September Council at Northampton and witnesses the charters to Salisbury and Dover.
- 1135. Is present at Henry's death at Lyons. (Ralph de Diceto.)

It was but natural that King Edgar, who had been brought up from his boyhood in East Anglia, should

encourage and benefit the towns of the eastern division of England. Hence the mints of Ipswich, Norwich, Thetford, St. Edmundsbury, and Peterborough (Stamford), owe their origin to him. The mint of Lincoln was revived by him, and that of Huntingdon established, whilst he reigned as sub-king of East Anglia in the lifetime of his brother Eadwig.

Thus Ipswich was originally a royal mint and so remained throughout the succeeding Saxon reigns. Its output was prolific and all of these reigns are represented upon its coinage. Our Ipswich coins of the Confessor suggest that there were then four moneyers, and therefore the annual fees of £4, mentioned in Domesday, represented the usual £1 per head. Although still a royal mint, it would be under the immediate jurisdiction of Earl Gurth as grantee of the *tertius denarius* of the burg.

The Conquest fell heavily upon Ipswich. Its *firma* was practically doubled and the annual fees of its mint were raised from £4 to £20. William created Ralph de Guader Earl of East Anglia, and as such he would receive the *tertius denarius* of the burg and mint. But in 1075, on the occasion of his marriage with the sister of Roger, Earl of Hereford,

“There was that bride ale,
The source of man’s bale,”

as the Saxon Chronicle quaintly explains a conspiracy, so purposeless and foolhardy as to be otherwise incredible, in which the two Earls and Waltheof plotted the overthrow of King William.

The immediate result of this conspiracy—if, indeed, it was anything more than a few futile boasts at the feast

welcomed with avidity as an excuse for the extinction of Waltheof—was an expedition of William's forces into Norfolk and Suffolk, and the outlawry of the Earl. Then, no doubt, it was that the 328 houses referred to in Domesday were laid "waste" and the town so impoverished that when, eleven years later, the mint ought to have contributed a rent amounting to £80 in the preceding four years, it had only paid £27.

The Earldom of East Anglia was confiscated and its territory divided by King William amongst his adherents. Roger Bigod seems to have received the lion's share, for in Suffolk alone he was granted 117 lordships or manors. The *tertius denarius* of the burg of Ipswich, together with that of the two adjoining Hundreds, was given to Alan, Earl of Brittany, but Roger Bigod had the custody of the burg *in manu Regis*. This position is singular, and must be explained by the necessarily "absentee" character of the lordship of an Earl—or Duke as he was sometimes called—of Brittany. Roger, as King's castellan, held the town, but Earl Alan received its *tertius denarius* and that of the mint also. The singularity rests in the fact that the Bigod was castellan for the King and not, as, for instance, in the case of Milo of Gloucester in later times, for the Earl. The effect of this was that the town for all practical purposes was the lordship of Roger Bigod and he was solely responsible to the King for its custody. The mint, therefore, must have been under his immediate jurisdiction, and to this extent Ipswich was an exception to the general rule that the privileges of a mint followed its *tertius denarius*, for the claims of Earl Alan seem to have been limited to a monetary payment, whereas those of Roger Bigod comprised the whole privileges of a territorial lord. Mr. Round, in *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, points

out that Conan, the then Earl of Brittany, received £9 10s. as the *tertius denarius* of the county at the date of the 1156 Pipe Roll, and that upon his death, in 1171, Robert de Torigny records that Henry II succeeded to *tota Britannia et comitatus de Gippewis*. It will, however, be noticed that the £15 has been reduced to £9 10s., and the difference of £5 10s. may, not improbably, represent the nominal third penny from the mint. In the meantime Hugh Bigod had been created Earl of Norfolk and Suffolk by King Stephen, and so, if this outstanding third penny of the Earldom of Ipswich had then been anything more than a mere rent charge, we should have had two Earls qualified from the same fees, or, as was not the case, an exception of the third penny of the pleas of "the County of Ipswich" from the grant to Earl Bigod.

Other observations are that there is no such payment in the 1130 Roll, and its revival in 1156 is in the year previous to that in which Henry II compelled Earl Bigod to surrender his castles (Westminster). These, coupled with the initial text of our subject, that when the Duke (Henry II) came over he rendered null the money of most of the barons (Hoveden), point to the explanation that, so long as Roger Bigod was merely the King's castellan of Ipswich, the third penny of the mint and of the two Hundreds was paid to Earl Alan. But whereas, on the one hand, the Bigod's influence always remained in the ascendant scale, on the other, Earl Alan's connexion with England was being gradually severed, until in the early years of Henry I he was actually in arms for William Clito against the King. The time therefore arrived, probably during the reign of Rufus, when the Bigod was strong enough to stop the payment of the entire *tertius denarius* of burg, mint, and

Hundreds. But on the accession of the House of Plantagenet it was Henry II's policy to cripple the power of the great Earl of East Anglia of Stephen's creation, and so he reduced his castles and suppressed his mint so far as its grantee's character was concerned, but revived the old third penny of the *Comitatus* of Ipswich, less the fees from its mint, in favour of the Earl of Brittany. Thus the lordship of Ipswich, and therefore of the Ipswich mint, remained throughout in the hands of the Bigods, similarly as we have seen Eudo Dapifer, first as castellan but later as grantee, held the burg and mint of Colchester (pp. 162-164).

Such was the position when Henry I ascended the throne in 1100. Roger Bigod was in England and witnessed the coronation charter, and between that date and the year 1107, his name appears upon many English charters. Hence types 251 (1100-1102), 253 (1104-1106), and 252 (1106-1108), are existent of the Ipswich mint. It will, however, be noticed that type 254 for the years 1102-1104 (Michaelmas) is missing, and, curiously enough, now that the Tewkesbury grant is believed to be spurious, these are the only two years to which it is difficult to assign any charter bearing his name, for that to Thetford Priory was apparently given in December, 1104. Nevertheless, it is more probable that the types may be incomplete than that the man who is credited with having fought at Hastings should be abroad in his old age.

We may assume that he was twice married, but left no male issue by his first wife, for Adeliza, his widow, survived him for many years, and is mentioned in the 1130 Pipe Roll. By her he left two sons, William and Hugh, and a daughter, Matilda, who subsequently became the wife of William de Albini. William and Hugh must have

been in early infancy at the time of their father's death, for William was "a youth" when he perished in 1120, and Hugh survived his father for more than seventy years.

The unfortunate history of William Bigod, the elder of the brothers, is almost identical with that of Richard, the young heir to the Earldom of Chester. They seem to have been of about the same age—though Richard would be a little the elder—and no doubt they were brought up at the King's court as companions to their contemporary, the young Prince William. They both witness the St. Evroul charter in Normandy in 1113, and return to England together, presumably to take seizin of their estates, in 1119, for on that occasion they grant confirmation charters in England, the one to St. Werburg's at Chester, the other to Thetford Priory. The date of the latter charter could not be earlier than the death of Queen Matilda, May 1st, 1118, nor later than that of Herbert, Bishop of Norwich, July 22, 1119. The parallel is continued, for they return to Normandy, and on the 25th of November, 1120, whilst once more attempting the crossing of the Channel, they, together with their colleague, William the Etheling, perish in the *White Ship*. The entry in the 1130 Pipe Roll, that "William Bigod, at the time of his death, owed £100 on account of his [succession] fees, which his brother [Hugh] will pay for him, if the King should wish," raises a doubt whether his succession was ever completed by the King's confirmation. For if Hugh Bigod had succeeded his brother there seems no reason why the sheriff should have referred the matter to the King, for Hugh Bigod could only have taken the estates with their liability; but if there was a doubt whether he did not succeed as heir to his father

because his brother died before acquiring absolute possession, the meaning of the paragraph is at least clearer. Therefore, between the death of Roger Bigod in 1107, and that of William Bigod in 1120, there was no grantee in possession of the burg of Ipswich or of its mint, and so no coins representing that interval are extant of it.

At the date of his brother's death Hugh Bigod was probably but fifteen or sixteen years of age, for despite the prominent position in which that event suddenly placed him, as heir to the vast estates of the Bigod, his name does not appear in any charter until two years later. He was a ward of the King, and as such would be attached to the court, and yet he did not witness any of the charters granted in January, 1121, upon the occasion of the King's second marriage. We know from the instances of Robert, the King's natural son, Richard, afterwards Earl of Chester, and, no doubt, of William Bigod, that youths of eighteen years of age were so admitted as witnesses. Assuming, therefore, that he did not attain that age until late in the year 1122, we have still the remarkable instance in 1175 of an Earl 71 years of age rising in rebellion (Wendover), and in his 74th year recorded as joining the Crusades!

It may be new to call attention to Hugh Bigod's name as a witness to a charter of 1122, but that of Hugh de la Val to Pontefract Priory, which the King and he attested, must have been granted at York when "King Henry was making his survey of Northumbria" (Orderic) in December of that year. He next attests a charter to the Church of Exeter, usually styled the Plympton charter. Unfortunately it is not above suspicion, for its strict date ought to be August, 1123, whilst the

King was at Rouen, but in *Feudal England* Mr. Round is inclined to attribute it to the Easter court at Winchester in the same year. Hugh Bigod certainly accompanied Henry to Normandy in that year, for we find his name to charters at Caen and Rouen in 1124 and 1125, and up to this date it is highly improbable that one so young would be entrusted with the custody of Ipswich.

In September, 1126, however, he would have returned with the King to England. He was now of age, and as we know that he had not only been confirmed in his hereditary possessions before the current year of the Pipe Roll (1129-1130), but had apparently then paid off his succession fees, we may assume that he was now duly installed at Ipswich. This date is the more probable because it would be expedient that the young Bigod should be in a position, as a baron of East Anglia, to swear fealty to the Empress Matilda at the forthcoming Christmas ceremony. Moreover, his confirmation charter must have been granted before the following August, as he then again left England. Hence type 265 (1126-1128) now appears from the Ipswich mint. He remained in England less than a year, for he accompanied the King to Normandy in August, 1127, and this probably explains the reason that very few specimens remain to us of type 265. From this time forward he witnesses most of the King's charters, and so we find him at Rouen and Chartres until July, 1131. Then we know that he returned with Henry to England, for he witnessed the Arques charter "*in transitu meo in Angliam*" (Documents in France). He attended the great council at Northampton in September, 1131, and witnessed numerous English charters until 1133. Types 262 (1128-1131) and 255 (1131-1135) are therefore in evidence at Ipswich. In

August, 1133, he once more journeyed with the King to Normandy and was present at the latter's death.

The mint at Ipswich fell into abeyance during the earlier years of Henry II, and, after a short revival, was abolished in the reign of John or Henry III.

COINS.

✠ EDGAR ON GIPE 253

Simpson Rostron Sale, 1892, £2 6s.

✠ GERMAN : [ON : 6] IPE : ✠ HENRIEVS R : 262

S. Page. The moneyer coined here in Stephen's reign, and the family occur as Suffolk tenants in Domesday.

Mr. Page has contributed many notes of the coins of this and the following reign.

✠ LEOPINE ON GIPE ✠ HENRI REX 251

P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton. From the Boyne Sale, 1896. The ornamented O is a survival of Saxon art.

✠ LIIFPINE ON GIP ✠ HENRI RE 253

J. S. Henderson. Pl. II, No. 10. From Montagu, 1896, £8 12s. 6d., and Shepherd, 1885, £8 8s., Sales. Found in Somersetshire. This and the preceding moneyer's name are contracted from that of Leofwine, who coined here in the previous reign, and his ancestors in Saxon times.

✠ OSBERN : ON : GIPE : 255

Watford find ; 4 specimens. Osbern continued to coin here in the following reign, and a

Richard Fitz-Osbern held a Suffolk fief under
Earl Bigod in 1165.

✠ OSBE . . . GIPE : ✠ 255

British Museum. Presented by Mr. Rashleigh.

✠ O . BE . . ON GIP : ✠ hEN . . . 255

British Museum. Presented by Mr. Rashleigh.

✠ OSBERN . . . PE : . . . NBIE : 255

B. Roth.

✠ O . . ER . ON : GIP : ✠ hENBIEVS R : 255

Late J. Toplis. From the Nottingham find.

. N : ON : GIP : . . . N 255

Linton find. 21 grs.

✠ OSPOLDVS : ON . IP : ✠ hENBIE : 262

Watford find. The name occurs on Saxon
coins of East Anglia.

✠ ROLAND ON GIPE 265

McEwan Sale, 1854.

✠ RODLAND ON GIPE : ✠ hENRI . . . R : 262

British Museum.

Sale at Edinburgh, 1884 252

LEICESTER.

LEHERCEASTER, LECERCEASTER, LEIRECEASTER, LIHRACEASTER,
 LIGRACEASTER, LIGERCEASTER; Domesday, LEGECESTER;
 Pipe Roll, LEGRECESTRA.

Leicester, the *Ratae* of the Romans and the *Cair Lerion*—or city of the Leir—of Nennius, abounds with Roman antiquities, and is probably one of our oldest English towns. During the eighth and ninth centuries it was the See of the bishopric which ultimately became that of Lincoln. In 874, when the Danes subdued Mercia, the See was removed to Dorchester, and Leicester became one of the famous “Five Danish Burgs,” but in 918 the Saxon Chronicle tells us that Ethelfleda, King Alfred’s daughter, “got into her power, by treaty, the *burh* at Leicester.” This, as Mr. I. C. Gould in the *Antiquary* for December, 1900, demonstrates, must have been the existing artificial mound, and was therefore of Danish origin. Its freedom was, however, short-lived, for the same Chronicle, under 941, recites :

“Five burgs, Leicester and Lincoln and Nottingham,
 So Stamford eke, and Derby
 To Danes were erewhile under Northmen
 By need constrained, in captive chains
 A long time.” (Dr. Giles.)

But in 943 “King Edmund besieged King Anlaf and Archbishop Wulfstan in Leicester, and would have taken them were it not that they broke out of the town by night.”

From this time Leicester prospered, and at the date of the Conquest was a town of considerable population and wealth.

1081. King William had evidently, to use Orderic's words, "granted the town of Leicester to Hugh de Grantmesnil" prior to this date, for the latter gives certain tithes of his demesne at Leicester to the Abbey of St. Evroul." (Orderic.)

1086. Domesday notes.—"The city of Leicester" in the time of the Confessor paid to the King £30 by number [credited] at 20 [pennies] to the ounce, and 15 pints of honey. When the King raised a land force twelve burgesses accompanied him, but if it was for service by sea, they supplied four horses from the burg as far as London to carry the arms, &c.

Now King William, for all payments of the city and county, has £42 10s. by weight. For one hawk ["*pro uno accipitre*"]—but is not this an error for "*accapite*"—relief for the military service?] £10 by number; for the pack-horse 20s. "From the moneyers £20 per annum [credited] at 20 [pennies] to the ounce. From these £20 Hugh de Grantmesnil has the *tertius denarius*." The King has in Leicester 39 houses, and, *inter alia*, Hugh de Grantmesnil has 2 churches and 110 houses, and, in addition, he has 24 in common with the King.

1100. At the date of Henry I's accession, Hugh de Grantmesnil had been succeeded by his second, surviving, son, Ivo, who had "held for some time his father's domains in England." (Orderic.) He refused to acknowledge the King, and—

1101. "Set the example of engaging in war on his own account, and gave to the flames the territories of his neighbours, such private wars being hitherto unknown in England." (Orderic.)

1102. For this he is called to account and convicted, but he offered to join the second crusade, and "implored the assistance of Robert, Earl of Mellent, one of Henry's principal counsellors," and made an agreement with him, namely, "The Earl was to procure his reconciliation with the King, and to advance him 500 silver marks for the expenses of his expedition, receiving the whole of Ivo's domains in pledge for fifteen years. In return the Earl was to give the daughter of his brother Henry, Earl of Warwick, to Ivo's son, then an infant, in marriage, and ultimately to restore to him his father's possessions. This contract was confirmed by oath and ratified by the King's

consent." Ivo joined the crusade and died on the way. (Orderic.)

"The town of Leicester had four masters—the King, the Bishop of Lincoln, Earl Simon [of Northampton], and Ivo, son of Hugh. The Earl of Mellent contrived to get a footing in it by the possession of Hugh's share, who was reeve and sheriff, and also farmed the King's fourth of the burg. By the royal favour and his own address he got the whole into his own hands, and being, in consequence, created an English Earl, his wealth and power surpassed those of any other peer of the realm. . . . His conscience being blinded by such prosperity, he forfeited his oath in favour of Ivo's son, so that, at the time appointed, the young man neither obtained the wife he had been promised, nor recovered his hereditary estates according to the contract which the Earl of Mellent had sworn." In another passage the same authority says: "Robert fortunately received from King Henry a grant of the earldom of Leicester, with many other rich favours." (Forester's Orderic.)

1103. "The King of England commissioned Robert, Earl of Mellent, to put an end to the intestine divisions of Normandy." (Orderic.)
1104. Earl Robert welcomes the King in Normandy. (Orderic.)
1105. Again receives the King on his second visit at Easter. (Orderic.)
1106. Commands the second division of the royal army at Tinchebrai. (Orderic.)
1107. Lent. Returns with the King to England, witnesses two charters at the Easter Court at Windsor, and refounds the church of St. Mary de Castro at Leicester. (Monasticon.)
1108. Witnesses the foundation charter of Lenton Priory, but in July accompanies Henry to Normandy, and is mentioned by Orderic as opposing the Countess of Evreux.
- 1109-10. Returns with the King to England, and witnesses the charters to St. Andrews, Northampton, Durham, and Ely, the confirmation charter to Lenton, its grant to Cluny Abbey, and the writ to St. Peter's, Ghent.
1110. August. Leaves England for Normandy with the King.

- With the exception of a visit to England in 1114-17, he remains in Normandy for the remainder of his life.
- 1110-1118. In Normandy witnesses charters to St. Evroul's, St. Amand's, St. Wandrille's, to the Abbeys of Troan and of the Holy Trinity at Tiron.
- 1114-1117. He visits England and witnesses the charter to Hyde Abbey at Barnham, Sussex, upon the journey, the Tavistock charter at Westminster, and that to Hulme Abbey in 1117.
1118. June 5. He died in Normandy, and was buried at Préaux. He left, with other issue, two sons, Waleran and Robert, twins, born in 1104. Waleran, as the elder, presently succeeding to his Norman possessions as Earl of Mellent, and Robert, following the usual custom as the second son, ultimately becoming Earl of Leicester.
1119. During the rising in Normandy, "Waleran and Robert, the young sons of the Earl of Mellent, were faithful to their allegiance, and their vassals, in their well-fortified castles, obeyed all the royal commands, and stoutly resisted the attacks of the enemy." (Orderic.)
1122. "The King had kindly brought up, as if they were his own children, Waleran and Robert . . . from the time of their father's death. . . . The two young men, on arriving at the age of puberty, received knighthood at the King's hands, and Waleran was put in possession of all his father's domains on this [the Norman] side of the sea. . . . His brother Robert had the earldom of Leicester in England, and the King gave him in marriage Amicia, daughter of Ralph de Guader, who had been affianced to his own [illegitimate] son Richard, with Breteuil and the lands held under it for her dowry." (Forester's Orderic.)
1123. Count Waleran revolts in Normandy, is taken prisoner in 1124, sent to England, and "kept prisoner for five years." (Orderic.)
- Meanwhile, the younger Robert is kept in close attendance at the King's Court, for he witnesses the charter to Bec in 1121, the Plympton and Tewkesbury charters at the Easter Court at Winchester in 1123, and the charter to St. Mary's, Coutances, in 1124.
- 1128-1129. At Rouen witnesses the charter to St. Barbe-

en-Ange, but returns with the King to England in July, 1129.

1130. Pipe Roll notes.—The Earl of Leicester accounts for £50 19s. for the cornage and forest rights which belong to him, pays £23 6s. 8d., and owes £27 12s. 4d. Richard FitzNigel accounts for £40 on an Exchequer plea for full weight of silver, pays 20 marks, is pardoned 20 marks, and owes 20 marks. Ralph the *Pincerna* and Morin del Pin owe £42 13s. 4d. for custody of the land of the Earl of Leicester.

1130-31. The Earl again accompanies the King to Normandy at Michaelmas, 1130, and witnesses the charter to St. Mary de Deserto at Rouen. He returns with the King in July, 1131, witnessing the latter's charter to Bec Abbey at Arques "*in transitu meo in Angliam.*"

1131. September 8. Is at the Northampton Council and witnesses the charters to Salisbury and Dover.

1133. August. Is in England, and witnesses the charter to St. John's, Falaise, at Winchester.

1133-35. In Normandy, witnesses charters to St. Mary's, Evreux, and St. Mary's, Coutances, at Rouen; and is present at Henry's death at Lyons.

The mint at Leicester—which according to a schedule of the monastery of St. Mary de Pratis was close to the north bridge—seems to have been established shortly after the recovery of the burg from the Danes by Eadmund the Martyr, for we have coins of it bearing his name; and also of every succeeding Saxon King.

In the reign of the Conqueror, Hugh de Grantmesnil's position at Leicester was very nearly, but not quite, that of an earl. He was castellan and sheriff, but he had not the *tertius denarius* of the pleas of the county which would have given him the earldom. He, however, had the "*tertius denarius*" of the mint, which constituted him its grantee, although it still retained its *quasi* royal privileges and thus came within the scope of the Survey.

Hugh de Grantmesnil died in the time of Rufus and was succeeded by his son Ivo, who in 1101 "had held for

some time his father's domains in England." Immediately upon Henry's accession, however, he joins the cause of Duke Robert and in 1101 openly revolts from the King. He would therefore certainly not issue Henry's money, if indeed, which is very doubtful, he ever received his confirmation charter from that King. Hence type 251 is absent from our Leicester coins. Mr. Round, in *Feudal England*, points out that it must have been during this insurrection that the town of Leicester suffered the great devastation recorded in the account of the foundation of Leicester Abbey. This is borne out by the fact that if it had occurred at the time of the Conquest, Domesday would have referred to more than the four houses as "waste," which is an unusually small number for a town of over 300 houses. Our coins also suggest that something of the kind had occurred early in Henry's reign, for it would explain the very small coinage which appears to have been issued from the mint during many subsequent years.

At this time, says Orderic, "the town of Leicester had four masters," but their shares in it were by no means equal. For instance, Simon, Earl of Northampton, would hold the original share of the Countess Judith as the husband of her daughter (see page 221), which at the date of Domesday only comprised twenty-eight houses and a half share in the mill. The Bishop of Lincoln then had the remaining half share in the mill, two churches, seventeen burgesses, and a tithe from certain land "without the wall." Thus Ivo de Grantmesnil held by far the lion's share and he also farmed the King's portion as castellan. We have seen how, in 1102, Robert, Earl of Mellent, contrived to obtain first the legal estate and shortly afterwards, on the death of Ivo in 1103, what we should now term the foreclosure of the latter's estates at Leicester,

for the death of either party to an agreement in those days was considered sufficient to release the other. Reading between the lines of a transaction, which at the best does not redound to Earl Robert's credit, we may infer that he had already been appointed by the King castellan of Leicester in Ivo's stead, and that Ivo's conviction and fine were such that his only hope of escape from imprisonment was to claim service again as a soldier of the Cross, and that he was content if he could but bargain for his English possessions to become the ultimate dowry of his son's wife. As in 1103 Earl Simon of Northampton also joined the crusade and a future matrimonial alliance was arranged between the two families, we may perhaps safely surmise that the wealthy Earl of Mellent also equipped Earl Simon by purchasing his share in the town of Leicester. Finally, if we set off the promised refoundation and endowment of the principal church of Leicester against the claims of the Bishop of Lincoln, we follow Orderic step by step until Earl Robert "got the whole place into his own hands, being in consequence created an English Earl." That Earl Robert did not style himself "Earl of Leicester" is no argument against the creation, for the title was always secondary to that of Mellent.

The mint now falls into his hands and he at once issues type 254 (1102-1104). But during its currency he is appointed representative of the King in Normandy and remains there until early in 1107, hence the interim type 253 is absent from our coins of this town. But from Lent, 1107, to July, 1108, he remains in England, and so type 252 (1106-1108) is in evidence of this visit. In 1109 he is in England, but no Leicester coin of the current type 256 seems as yet to be forthcoming. From this

date to the time of his death in 1118 he resides in Normandy, with the exception of the visit to England in 1114-17, the evidence of which, as given in the Hyde, Tavistock and Hulme Abbey charters (the latter dated 1117), is to some extent corroborated by a coin of type 264 (1116-1118), which, although the letters are not quite distinct, seems to have been struck at Leicester. The man who had fought at Hastings is now well stricken in years and spends the closing year of his life in his old home. Just as Eudo, the King's Dapifer of Normandy, remained in that country from the year 1108 to his death at Préaux in 1120, and his mint at Colchester was closed during the entire period, so Earl Robert, the King's administrator of Normandy, remains there from the year 1110 to his death at Préaux in 1118, with the exception of the years 1114-17, and his mint at Leicester is also similarly closed, save during his visit to England as just mentioned.

The twins, Waleran and Robert, were but fourteen years old at the time of their father's death, and therefore, although their names appear in charters during the interval, they would not be put into possession of their estates before 1125. We are incidentally informed by Orderic that Morin del Pin was appointed, by the King, guardian and tutor to the young Count Waleran, and so we may infer that he acted in that capacity to both the brothers, who, we are told, were brought up by the King as if they were his own sons. Waleran as the elder was heir to the Norman and French estates and Robert to the Earldom of Leicester. In 1119 they were both at their hereditary castle of Breteuil, and although they were too young to take part in the Norman war of that year, Morin del Pin as castellan on their behalf greatly assisted the

King's cause. In 1123, Count Waleran "ardently desired an opportunity of exhibiting his youthful valour," and being "eager to win the honour of knighthood" (Orderic), revolted from the King and took the field for William Clito. After showing considerable personal bravery he was, however, taken prisoner in 1124, ultimately sent as such to England, and "kept prisoner during five years." It is important to notice that his release would therefore date in the year 1129.

Meanwhile, we can quite understand that King Henry would keep a tight hand upon the younger brother, and so we find from the evidence of numerous charters that from 1121 to 1130 he was constantly in attendance upon the King himself. He came of age in 1125, but under the circumstances of his brother's recent revolt, in which, according to Matthew of Westminster, he was also concerned, to place him in independent power at Leicester would have been contrary to Henry's astute policy. Like the young Earl of Chester he had been dubbed an Earl from the age of eighteen at least, if not from the time of his father's death, but the Pipe Roll proves that he received the confirmation charter of his Leicester estates in 1129-1130.

His brother, Count Waleran, was released from prison in 1129 and "regranted the rental of his estates" (William de Monte), but was retained at the King's Court (Sax. Chron.). At the same time the King appears to have confirmed the Earldom of Leicester to Robert. This is proved by the entry that Ralph the *Pincerna* and Morin del Pin, who, we remember, was the young Earl's guardian and tutor, owed £42 13s. 4d. for custody of the land of the Earl of Leicester. Up to about September 29th, 1129, therefore, these two, one the King's representative, the

other the steward of the household of the late Earl of Mellent and the guardian of the young Earl Robert, had been collectors of the revenue of the Earldom. They pay £42 13s. 4d., which, allowing for the difference between a current payment and one "by weight," is, no doubt, the exact *firma* of £42 10s., as given in Domesday of the city and county, thus showing that the Earl had not as yet his third penny. That their office was now at an end is shown by the entry that the Earl himself accounts for the cornage and forest rights, and so we thus ascertain that the pardon of Count Waleran and the confirmation charter of the Earldom of Leicester to Earl Robert were concurrently granted in 1129, when, for the first time after attaining twenty years of age, the young Earl, in the retinue of the King, set foot in England. Hence up to this date no coinage at Leicester was possible, but now type 262 (1128-1131) naturally appears from the mint.

Morin del Pin had been concerned in Count Waleran's revolt and according to Orderic, who was evidently unaware of his administration of Leicester, "was banished from Normandy and continued in exile in foreign lands till the day of his death." It was, no doubt, at that date—1124—that Henry transferred his immediate guardianship of the young Earl of Leicester to Ralph *Pincerna*, and it was over the attestation of the latter that the Earl at Breteuil granted his first three charters of privileges to the burgesses of Leicester, confirming their guild of merchants, their local jurisdiction of trial, and their freedom from forestry toll of passage. Ralph was the grandson of Hugh *Pincerna*, who held a barony in Essex at the date of Domesday. As such Ralph was hereditary *Pincerna*, and in 1130 was receiving grants from the

revenue of six counties. He afterwards founded Alcester Abbey.

The remaining entry quoted from the Roll—that Richard Fitz Nigel accounts for £40 “p. plac. scrinii plen. arg.” is exactly a case in point, as described by the Dialogue of the Exchequer (see page 8), of a former sheriff having to bear the loss—or a part of it—of debased or light money in his returns for the county.

On the 8th September, 1131, the Earl attends the great council of Northampton and there witnesses several of the King's charters, but after this it is suggested that he joined his brother at Breteuil. As Mr. Round points out, the twins seem almost invariably associated in the history of their time, and it is significant that whilst between the autumn of 1131 and August, 1133, Earl Robert's name disappears from English charters, there are several granted in Normandy bearing it which with some confidence can be assigned to the interval. For instance, of the three before-mentioned charters granted by the Earl to the burgesses of Leicester, two are stated to have been, and the third, probably, was executed at Breteuil. These could not have been granted before the Earl received his estates, and, as they are all witnessed by Ralph *Pincerna*, not before the date—probably Michaelmas—in 1130 when Ralph returned his accounts in the Roll, for he was then still in England. Hence, as the Earl was only in Normandy for a few months between that date and September, 1131, it is improbable that he would then have granted three distinct charters to Leicester, when they could well have awaited his return. We may therefore assume that they were granted after September, 1131, when the Earl had taken up his permanent abode at Breteuil. On the other hand, one of them

at least is a confirmation charter, so would not long be delayed. A reason for his residence in Normandy and for the presence of Ralph *Pincerna* may be the fact that, as William de Monte tells us, though the King regranted the rental of his estates to Count Waleran, he would not entrust to him his castles. It is true that Earl Robert's name appears on the Winchester charter to St. John's, Falaise, dated 1133; but it seems to stand alone between 1131 and 1135 against the numerous charters of Normandy, and as we know that the Earl was in the latter country from 1133 to the King's death in 1135, we may assume that it represented but a passing visit to England and that his residence during the whole period of issue of type 255 (September 29th, 1131 to 1135) was otherwise in Normandy. This only would explain the absence from our cabinets of a Leicester specimen of so plentiful a type as 255.

Our coins tell us that this mint was continued until the early years of Henry II, and the entry in the 1156 Pipe Roll, that the sheriff spent 12s. 6d. in conducting [to trial] the false moneyers of Leicester, may offer some explanation of its suppression.

COINS.

✠EDMVND : ON LEB

✠HENRICVS : 264

L. A. Lawrence. From Viscount Dillon's Sale, 1892. The Earl probably introduced this moneyer from Lincoln, where the name frequently occurs on Saxon and Norman coins. Note the connection between these towns referred to on pages 241 and 245.

✠FVILGRED ON LE

✠HENRI : RE : 252

British Museum. Fig. D, p. 52. Pl. VIII. No. 4.

This moneyer also came from Lincoln, where he had coined for Rufus.

♣ FV6RED ON LE ♣ hENRIE REX 252

Engraved, Snelling, i., 14 ; Ruding, Sup., i. 9. From the Hodsoll and Tyssen, 1802, collections. Probably the previous coin.

♣ WARM.. ON LE 262

Montagu Sale, 1897, and Wakeford collection.

*WARM.. ON LE hENR...S R 262

Watford find. But read ♣ WARM . . . INDE
and appropriated to Winchester.

✠ W ON : LELE : hENRIV . RE 262

Watford find.

✠PVLFPINE ONLER ✠HENRI REX 254

L. A. Lawrence.

✠PVLFPE ON LEI ✠HENRI R 254

Hunterian Museum, Glasgow University. The LEI is no doubt part of LER, contracted for want of space.

For coins of types 251, 263 and IV., hitherto usually assigned to this mint, see under Chester, Lewes and Winchester.

LEWES (SUSSEX).

LÆWES, LÆWEN, LESWA ; Domesday and the Pipe Roll, LEWES.

Lewes claims Celtic and Roman antiquity, and the

numerous tumuli and earthworks surrounding it certainly corroborate a remote origin. The town was a royal demesne of the Saxon Kings, from whom it received the privilege of a market, and it was a place of considerable importance at the date of the Conquest.

1086. Domesday notes.—The burg of Lewes in the Confessor's time returned £6 4s. 3½d. for tax and toll. King Edward had 127 burgesses in lordship, whose custom was that, if the King wished to send his burgesses to guard the sea without accompanying them, twenty shillings were collected from all the men, irrespective as to whomsoever the land [which they held] belonged, which those who had charge of the arms in the ships had. The fines and market dues are set out in detail. When the money is renewed (*i.e.*, the type changed) each moneyer gives 20s. Of all these, two parts were the King's and the third the Earl's. Now the burg in all things pays the same as before and 38s. in addition. In the time of the Confessor the whole was worth £26. The King had the middle [penny] and the Earl had the remainder. Now it is worth £34, and for new money (*i.e.*, a change of type) one hundred and twelve shillings; from all of these [payments] William de Warren has the middle [penny] and the King the remainder.

1100. William de Warren, who was created Earl of Surrey, died from the effects of a wound received at the siege of Pevensey, and had been succeeded by his son William de Warren II, now in England.

1100-1. He is confirmed in his possessions by Henry I, who grants a charter to Lewes Priory "*rogatu Willielmi Comitum Sugreg.*" (Monasticon.)

But meanwhile, "at first in secret but afterwards openly," he advocates Duke Robert's claims. (Orderic.)

1101. Midsummer. At Arundel, ostensibly in arms for the King, he witnesses the charter to Otho fitz Otto the *Aurifaber* (see page 47).

August. Deserts Henry's camp and joins Duke Robert on his arrival. (Orderic.)

September. After the declaration of peace he accompanies Duke Robert to Henry's Court and witnesses the charters to Bath and Norwich. (Monasticon.)

November. Duke Robert returns to Normandy, "taking with him William de Warren and several others who had been disinherited for their share in his enterprise." (Orderic.)

1102-3. In Normandy De Warren witnesses Duke Robert's charter to St. Stephen's, Caen. (Docs. of France.)

1103. Presents himself "in great distress to Duke Robert and represents to him the severe loss he had sustained in his services, having forfeited his Earldom of Surrey, which had produced him the yearly revenue of a thousand pounds of silver," urging him to procure his pardon and restoration.

The Duke visits the King in England (see page 51) and effects the restoration of De Warren to "the Earldom of Surrey," who "afterwards adhered faithfully to the King."

1106. The Earl commands the third division of the Royal army at Tinchebrai. (Orderic.)

1107-10. In England witnesses the charters to St. Mary's Bec, Northampton, Durham, Ely, and St. Peter's, Ghent.

About this time he is appointed castellan of St. Saens. (Orderic.)

1113. March 7. In Normandy witnesses the charter to the Holy Trinity, Savigny; and in 1115 that to the Holy Trinity, Tiron, at Rouen. (Docs. of France.)

1116-18. Returns to England and witnesses the charters to St. Mary's, Rouen, and Hulme Abbey.

1119. August. Joins the army in Normandy and takes a leading part in the battle of Brémule.

1121-3. In England witnesses the charters to Bardney, Binham, and Plympton.

1123-1130. Accompanies Henry to Normandy in 1123 and remains there until 1130, witnessing the charters to Hyde Abbey, Mont St. Michel, Lessay, Fécamp (2), St. Mary's, Evreux, St. Mary de Deserto, St. Barbe-en-Ange, St. Laurence of Envermeu, &c., and grants his own charter to Longueville Priory. (Monasticon and Docs. of France.)

1130. Pipe Roll notes.—The Roll is here defective, but it appears that the sheriff accounts for £9 for Danegeld, sixty marks of silver for two murders in the Hundred, ten marks for one in the burg of Lewes, and £12 7s. 6d. for murders in the previous year and

treasury pleas. These sums are paid "by the King's writ to the Earl of Warren."

1131. The Earl is still in Normandy and witnesses the charter of Fontevrault, January 13th, and the Papal Bull to Cluny, May 20th. (Docs. of France.)

July. Returns with the King to England, witnessing the charter to Bec at Arques on the journey. (Docs. of France.)

September 8. Is at the Northampton Council and witnesses the charters to Salisbury and Dover. (Monasticon.) And, probably at this date, grants his own charter to Lewes Priory.

- 1132-3. Witnesses the charters to St. Jean de Falaise at Marden, Sussex, and at Winchester. (Docs. of France.)

- 1133-5. Accompanies King Henry to Normandy and is present at his death at Lyons. (Orderic.)

Lewes was one of the towns which were allowed two moneyers under the Law of King Athelstan, and coins reading LÆ of that King are assigned to it. It became a prolific mint under the later Saxon Kings and the names of all, from Edgar to Harold II, appear upon its coins.

As constituted by the Law of Athelstan, that of Lewes was a royal mint. The moneyers, therefore, were tenants *in capite* of the King and paid their fees to him. Hence in Domesday we find that under the Confessor each moneyer paid 20s. when a new type was issued, of which the Earl, however, had the *tertius denarius*. But in the same paragraph we are told that, in 1086, the town "is worth £34, and for new money 112s., of which William de Warren receives the *tertius denarius*." To the casual observer this would appear to be a mere increase in the assessment of the mint, but it did not necessarily mean even that, for of the thirteen moneyers at Lewes during the reign of the Confessor, there were possibly half-a-dozen each paying the 20s. in office at one and the same

time. The distinction is much more important. Under the Confessor the moneyers were individually assessed, but in 1086 the burg was assessed at £34 in ordinary years, which was increased by £5 12s. in the years when the money was changed. This is abundant evidence that, as at Huntingdon and Dorchester, "King William had laid the tax of the mint on the burg" (see page 223); in other words, had farmed the privilege of coinage to the burgesses; but it was, nevertheless, under the jurisdiction of De Warren as holder of the *tertius denarius* of the joint rent of burg and mint.

On Henry's accession, therefore, in 1100, coinage was naturally continued by the burghers, for De Warren was in England and receives his confirmation charter from the new King, as is evidenced by the Lewes charter. Type 251 (1100-1102) therefore now appears and gives us the names of two moneyers. But in 1101 the mint suddenly ceased, and we have no more coins bearing its name during the entire reign. For thirty-four years the privilege of coinage was withheld from the *quasi* royal mint, which, both before and afterwards, was one of the most prolific in the kingdom. It would not be sufficient to explain this numismatic catastrophe by the misfortunes of the Earl, for though, in any case, the mint would necessarily have been closed during his exile, after his restoration to the Earldom of Surrey, to which the town of Lewes seems to have been appended, it would have been reopened during the years he spent in England. We must therefore look for another explanation. We have seen from Domesday that the burg held its privileges upon the custom of providing the men who had charge of the arms in the ships which guarded the sea. The expression, when the King called out his fleet "with-

out accompanying it," draws a distinction between the ordinary use of the ships for mere transport of himself and his army to Normandy and the ancient purpose of the fleet for guarding the shore from invasion. The burg of Lewes therefore supplied the armourers to the fleet only in case of threatened invasion, and the burgesses contributed 20s. towards their outfit. The news of Duke Robert's invasion in the summer of 1101 called out the fleet, and each ship would contain an armourer of Lewes, whose position would probably be that of second in command, but who would be under the influence of his lord, Earl Warren, then plotting the betrayal of the King. This, in a great measure, explains the treachery of the fleet which is recorded by Florence as follows :

1101. "Robert Earl of Normandy, having raised a large body of horsemen, archers, and foot soldiers, assembled his ships at a place called in the Norman tongue *Ultres-port*. The King receiving intelligence of this, ordered his *boat-carles* to guard the sea, and to watch that no one approached the coast of England from Normandy ; . . . The Earl, however, by the advice of Bishop Ralph, so tampered with the fidelity of some of the King's *boat-carles* by promises of various kinds, that, throwing off their allegiance, they deserted to the Earl, and became his pilots to England." (Forester.)

Thus the cases of Dover and Lewes are identical ; both burghs held the privilege of coinage and coined plentifully in type 251 ; both forfeited the privilege through the treason of their *boat-carles*, and to neither was it restored so long as King Henry lived.

The mint was reopened on Stephen's accession, but seems to have been finally discontinued at the close of his reign.

COINS.

♣BRHTMR ON LEP [♣H]EHH RE♣ 251
British Museum.

♣BRHTMR ON . EP ♣HNRI RE . 251

W. J. Andrew. Pl. II, No. 4. From the
Robinson Sale, 1891.

♣PINNRIED ON LEI ♣HNRI REX N 251

J. Verity. From the Durrant, 1847, £7 13s. 0d.;
Wigan, Brice, and Montagu, 1896, £5 5s. 0d.,
collections. This coin was perhaps correctly
attributed by Mr. Grueber to Chester, but
the legend ♣PINNRIED ON LIEP on some
of the Williams' types leaves the balance of
probability equal. (See Chester.)

Hugh Howard Sale, 1874. 251

As to the coin of type 264, previously given to this mint, see
pp. 41, 246, and 250.

LINCOLN.

LINCOLNE, LINCOLNIA, LINDECOLNIA, NICHOL, NICOLE; Domes-
day, LINCOLIA; Pipe Roll, LINCOLN.

Lincoln, "the fair city of Lindsey," was one of the
principal links in the great chain of Roman subjugation
of Britain. Later it was a British stronghold, and later
still one of "the Five Danish Burgs." Bede refers to
it as a city in his day, and records its early conversion
to Christianity under the year 627. It was the capital
of the Saxon Earls of Mercia, and as such was in the
arena of the Danish struggles for conquest. Neverthe-

less it continued to prosper, and at the close of the Saxon era was one of the most prosperous and populous cities in the kingdom.

1086. Domesday notes.—In the city of Lincoln there were, in King Edward's time, 970 inhabited houses, computed, according to the English custom, of one hundred for one hundred and twenty [*i.e.*, 1,150]. There were and are twelve "lage-men" who had *sac* and *soc* (whose names will be referred to presently). The market and "wall"—perhaps the Roman wall—are mentioned, and also Bishop Remigius (who had lately transferred his See from Dorchester, in Oxfordshire, to Lincoln, and has large ecclesiastical possessions in Lincoln itself and the county). Of the inhabited houses in the Confessor's time 200—according to the English numeration, *i.e.* 240—are now waste, leaving 770 inhabited, 166 having been destroyed for [the defences of] the castle. Ivo Taillebois has large possessions in the county, and is castellan of Lincoln.

"In the time of King Edward the city of Lincoln paid £20 to the King and £10 to the Earl. Now it pays £100 by number between the King and Earl. But the mint pays £75."

1092. Death of Bishop Remigius (Florence). "Near the castle, the lofty towers of which commanded the city, Remigius built a cathedral, which for strength and beauty was both fitting for the service and, as the times required, impregnable to hostile attacks." (Huntingdon.)

1098. Robert Bloet appointed Bishop.

1102. Upon Robert de Belême's revolt Bishop Bloet, no doubt in his capacity of Justiciary, commands the Northern division of the King's army and subdues the Earl's stronghold of Tickhill in Yorkshire. (Florence.)

1103. After recounting the death in Ireland of Magnus Barefoot, King of Norway, Orderic tells us that "a rich citizen of Lincoln kept the treasure of King Magnus and supplied him with ornaments, plate, arms, furniture, and whatever else the royal service required. This man, having learnt the King's death, hastened home, and trafficking with the King's treasure, speedily

amassed vast wealth. Meanwhile, the King of England received the intelligence that Magnus was slain with great satisfaction, feeling himself relieved from a great burden, and some time afterwards [? in 1108] required the citizen of Lincoln to give up the late King's treasure. The merchant at first denied that he had any such deposit, but the King, having convicted him of the falsehood, suddenly arrested him, and extorted from him, as it is said, more than twenty thousand pounds of silver." (Forester.)

1108-9. April. From a writ to St. Peter's at Ghent the King is said to have now visited Lincoln. (Docs. in France.) But the evidence "Apud Lint" is not quite conclusive.

1121. "At this time Henry having, by digging, made a long trench from Torksey as far as Lincoln, by turning into it the river Trent, made a passage for shipping." (Hoveden.) This ought to throw grave doubts upon the generally accepted theory of the Roman origin of the Fosse Dyke, although it is possible that this (excepting, perhaps, the Danish dyke through Southwark), our first ship canal, may have followed the lines of some previously existing aqueduct. Malmesbury describes Lincoln in his time (*circa* 1180-1142) as "one of the most populous cities in England, and a mart for all goods coming by land and water."

1123. Sudden death of Bishop Bloet whilst riding with the King at Woodstock. Huntingdon, in his "Letter to Walter," says he was Justiciary of England, had immense wealth and a gorgeous retinue of knights.

May. "Before the new Bishop came to the See, the whole town of Lincoln was burnt, with a great number of persons, both men and women; and so much harm was done that no man could tell another how great the damage was." (Sax. Chron.)

July 22. Alexander, Archdeacon of Salisbury and nephew of Roger, Bishop of that see, consecrated Bishop of Lincoln.

1180. Pipe Roll notes.—The burgesses pay 200 marks of silver and 4 marks of gold that they may hold the city [direct] from the King *in capite* [*i.e.*, without accounting through the sheriff for their *firma*—see Geoffrey de Mandeville, p. 362], and £49 12s. 2d. *in auxilium*. The Weavers' Guild renders certain fees

for its privileges, and Bishop Alexander owes £22 for the previous year's military service. "Godric de Grimsby pays $2\frac{1}{2}$ marks of silver on a certain Treasury plea." "Gerard de Grimsby owes £17 1s. 0d. on a certain Treasury [account]." "Siwatus de Holland accounts for $12\frac{1}{2}$ marks of silver on a plea of false coining (*falsionarii*), pays 40s. and owes $9\frac{1}{2}$ marks." "Osbertus Palmarius accounts for 15 marks of silver for Toch the false coiner who absconded, pays 7 marks and owes 8 marks." "Gerardus de Linberga (Limber) accounts for 20 marks of silver on a Treasury plea, pays 5 marks and owes 15 marks." "Elwi and Schiepmann account for 10 marks of silver on a Treasury plea, pay 4 and owe 6 marks (under Rutland)."

1191. May. King Henry by charter, which is confirmed by Pope Innocent II, grants 40 marks of silver ["50," according to one version, so the "40" is perhaps according to the English custom] from the *firma* of the City of Lincoln to the Abbey of Cluny, to be annually paid through the Exchequer at Michaelmas. (Docs. of France.)

The name of Lincoln first appears upon coins issued during the Danish occupation of the city in the reigns of Alfred and Edward the Elder; and those who, like Mr. Clark, Mr. Gould, and Mr. Round, are interested in the study of pre-Norman earthworks, may notice how uniformly the origin of a mint seems to follow the probable date of the completion of the great Danish or Saxon *Mound* of its burh.

It was, no doubt, as a survival from the time when Lincoln was the chief centre of the Danish occupation of England that a branch of the Treasury of the Kings of Norway remained at that city so late as the reign of Henry I. The account of its confiscation, quoted above from Orderic, under the year 1103, is peculiarly interesting in view of certain coins of Magnus the Good, of Norway, and other Danish Kings of the eleventh century,

perhaps even of Magnus Barefoot himself, which bear the curious legends on the reverse—† OSGAR MO LINE, † STEINBIT ON LINE, † LEFPINE ON LINEO and † AREIL ON LINE [not LVND as sometimes printed]. May we not, therefore, infer that “the rich citizen of Lincoln who kept the treasure of King Magnus and supplied him with ornaments, plate, arms, furniture, and whatever else the royal service required,” supplied him with money struck at Lincoln? A Lefwine coined here for Rufus, and may not AREIL, who was coining in King Henry’s type 251 (1100-1102) just prior to the date of the incident, have been “the rich citizen” himself? This seems to throw a new light upon Mr. S. Smith’s interesting paper in *Num. Chron.*, 1888, p. 138.

From Edgar to Harold II the name of every King appears upon the Lincoln coinage, and, with the exceptions of those of London and Winchester, no mint was more prolific in its output. This fact is not only evidenced in our cabinets, but corroborated by Domesday, for the returns of the two excepted cities are not recorded, but the mint of Lincoln, in 1086, pays a considerably larger *firma* than any other in the kingdom.

The historical light we are now enabled to throw upon the Domesday records of Lincoln is startling. We have seen that the Survey opens with the number of inhabited houses and an account of twelve “lagemen” who had *soc* and *sac* or *tol* and *team*. These “lagemen” have, not unnaturally, been promoted into an imaginary civic governing body—or commune—just a century before any such municipal authority was possible in England! To quote the words of a well-known authority :

“When in 1068 the Conqueror marched from York to Cambridge he paused at Lincoln, even then a very important place,

fenced in and populous, not indeed as yet boasting a minster, but numbering 1,150 inhabited houses, a leading member of the famous Danish civic confederation, and governed by twelve lawmen, who wielded powers elsewhere exercised by the territorial lords." (*Mediæval Military Architecture*, vol. ii., p. 198.)

To explain their true position we must, however, first glance at the history of the city at this period. Up to comparatively recently, before the date of Domesday, it had been under the jurisdiction of the Earls of Mercia, and, therefore, in the Confessor's time, we are told, the Earl had the third penny. In 1086, however, the Earldom had been forfeited and the Earl slain, but, nevertheless, as at Dover (p. 175) and other places, the usual custom was continued of maintaining the existing *tertius denarius* in view of a possible revival of the Earldom, which revival, in this instance, did afterwards occur when, in the reign of Stephen, William de Roumare, the descendant on the spindle side of the Saxon Earls of Mercia, was created Earl of Lincoln. Hence Domesday tells us that the *firma* of the city is now £100 "between the King and the Earl," but, of course, the King also received the Earl's share under the forfeiture. There is, however, no such reservation concerning the *firma* of the mint; we read, "but the mint pays £75." This places the mint upon an equal footing in the accounts with the city itself, each is separately assessed, but the *firma* of the mint is paid solely to the King, whereas that of the city is divided between King and Earl. Thus the former must have been excepted from the jurisdiction of the Earl, and so remained throughout a royal mint pure and simple.

To quote from our first page, "the moneyers of these (the royal) mints only were, therefore, officers of the

Crown; men, often, of considerable wealth and importance, and in virtue of their office tenants *in capite* of the King." It must be quite clear that if the mint at Lincoln was assessed directly to the King, its moneyers came under the legal definition of tenants *in capite* as "holding immediately from the King," and, as such, they were entitled to their *sac* and *soc.* Just as the City of Lincoln was responsible for the payment of a *firma* of £100, so the moneyers of Lincoln were responsible for the payment of a *firma* of £75, and, therefore, it was equally essential that their names or identity should be disclosed in the Roll. Had there been but one or two, this would not have been necessary, for the office would have been rarely changed, but with so many as at Lincoln, it was necessary to keep a constant record of those responsible for the King's rent.

We now return to the record. The word "lagemen," in the quotation from *Mediæval Military Architecture*, given above, is evidently treated as being derived from *laga*=law, *i.e.* "law-men." But in the 1130 Pipe Roll we find the terms "*smale manni*" and "*homines minuti*" constantly used to describe the serfs or bondmen; so here the term "lagemen" must surely mean the opposite, *i.e.* the free men or tenants *in capite*. In fact the term survives to us in the King's proclamations to his "*liege-subjects*." Thus, instead of implying some civic authority, the twelve lagemen of the Lincoln Survey were merely twelve citizens who were separately assessed to the King as freemen holding their lands or offices directly from him (*cf.* Oxford, pages 353-354).

Ought we not, therefore, to be able to identify some of them as the King's tenants of the mint? In the time of the Confessor they were:—

- 1.—“Hardeenut.” “HARÐEENVNT” appears on the Lincoln coins of the previous reign, but we have not yet found the name on the Confessor’s coins.
- 2.—“Svartin[c], son of Grimbold.” “SPARTINE,” moneyer of the Confessor, and “GRIM,” moneyer of Ethelred II.
- 3.—“Vlf, son of Svertebrand.” “VLF,” moneyer of the Confessor, and “SPERTEBRAND” of Harold I.
- 4.—“Walraven.” “PALRAFAN,” moneyer of the Confessor.
- 5.—“Alwold.” Not identified on our Lincoln coins.
- 6.—“Britric.” “BRIHTRIL,” moneyer of the Confessor.
- 7.—“Guret.” “GIRE[T],” moneyer of the Confessor.
- 8.—“Vlbert.” ? “PVLBRN,” moneyer of the Confessor.
- 9.—“Godric, son of Eddeva.” “GODRIL,” moneyer of the Confessor.
- 10.—“Siward, a priest.” Not identified.
- 11.—“Lewine, a priest.” ? “LEFPINE,” moneyer of the Confessor. As to a cleric holding this position, see below and page 369.
- 12.—“Aldene, a priest.” Not identified.

Now, in 1086, they are—

- 1.—“Svardine, in place of his father, Hardeenut.” Not identified.
- 2.—“Svartine” [son of Grimbold]. Not identified on William’s coins.
- 3.—“Sortebrand, in place of his father, Vlf.” Not identified.
- 4.—“Agemund, in place of his father, Walraven.” “AHEMVND,” moneyer of William I.
- 5.—“Alwold.” Not identified.
- 6.—“Godwine,” son of Britric. “GODPINE,” moneyer of William I.

- 7.—“Norman ‘crassus’ in the place of Guret.” Not identified.
- 8.—“Vlbert, brother of Vlf, still lives.” Not identified, but “VLF” moneyer of William I.
- 9.—“Peter de Valonges in the place of Godric fitz Eddeva.” “PIRES,” moneyer of William I [the sons of Peter de Valonges took the name of Fitz-Piers].
- 10.—“Vlfnoth, a priest, in the place of Siward.” “PVL-NOÐ,” moneyer of William II.
- 11.—“Burvolt in the place of his father, Lewine, who now is a monk.” Not identified.
- 12.—“Ledwine, son of Revene, in the place of Aldene, the priest.” “LEFPINE,” moneyer of William I.

Thus we find eight or nine names on the Lincoln coins of the Confessor and four or five on those of the Conqueror which can with every probability be identified in the respective lists of lagemen recorded in Domesday. The coincidences are too numerous to be accidental, and when it is explained that the notes of the William coins from which this comparison is drawn are as yet incomplete, the fact would appear to be established that certain of the lagemen held the office of King’s moneyers at Lincoln. Mr. Grueber has always contended that the moneyers were men of considerable status and wealth, and that “the right of coining was farmed out to them” (*Brit. Mus. Cat.*, II, civ.). But this identification must place them amongst those who were only secondary in importance to the territorial lords and proves that a royal mint—but a royal mint only—was farmed by the King to certain of the principal freemen of the district, who held it on much the same terms as a lord held a manor. They in turn would either farm it to the actual strikers of the coins or employ artisans, as authorised by the laws of Ethelred II (see page 278), to take over the burden and responsibilities

of the office. So we may take it that the mint of Lincoln was from time to time farmed amongst certain of the twelve tenants *in capite* of the Crown, just as a city was farmed to its sheriff, and they were allowed to turn it to the best profit they could. Their names appeared on the coins as a voucher for their quality, but, as in the case of a sheriff, a fine was no doubt the extent of their liability, for their underlings would bear the penalty of fraud. There was therefore no objection to either a priest or a baron accepting the office. Peter de Valonges was a sheriff and probably all the lagemen were of nearly equal rank, but it must be remembered that human nature was much the same, even in those days, and the title *monetarius* would only be assumed by those who held no higher position in their own right.

Arguing in a circle, we will now prove that a King's moneyer must have been in a position equal to that of Peter de Valonges and his brother lagemen of Lincoln. How otherwise could Godwine, King William's moneyer of London, grant to Malmesbury Abbey in 1084 the Church of St. Nicholas, with lands which he and Theodric the moneyer held (the "GODPINE" and "DIDRIE" on our coins, see page 280); or Wulfric of Sudbury (see page 413), whom Henry I calls "*my* moneyer," grant the Church of St. Bartholomew at Sudbury to Westminster Abbey; or Geldewine ("GELDEPINE" on the coins), the Confessor's moneyer at Canterbury, grant his house to the see of Rochester (see page 382)?

Having thus demonstrated the great difference between the constitution of a King's mint and that of the usual and intermittent baronial mints of lesser importance, it follows that there was nothing in the former class to prevent a constant issue of the currency, type after type.

Hence, when we refer to our coins of Lincoln, issued during the reigns of the two Williams, we find that from the time when the city fell into the Norman King's hands every type is represented upon them.

During the reign of Henry I, similar conditions prevailed, and out of the fifteen types issued by him eleven are in evidence in our cabinets. Those missing are 253 (1104-1106), 256 (1108-1110), 267 and 266 (1112-1116). Perhaps they may yet be forthcoming.

It will be noticed that about the middle of the reign an attempt is made to change the old Saxon name of the city from LINCOLNE to NICOLE. This attempt was not confined to the coins alone, for we find the latter form competing with its Saxon predecessor in deeds and records until late in the fifteenth century. Any explanation for this seems to have baffled the ingenuity of historians and numismatists alike, and the only one suggested has been that of the difficulty of pronunciation of the word, a suggestion reflecting unfairly upon the linguistic powers of our Norman forefathers. There is no effect without a cause, and the cause in this instance is as simple as—to our practical minds—amusing. A passage in Henry of Huntingdon ought to have solved the problem. It is—

“In the twelfth year of King Stephen he wore his crown during Christmas at Lincoln, which no [Norman?] King, from some superstitious feeling, had before ventured to do. This showed the great resolution of King Stephen, and how little importance he attached to such superstitions.”

To hold the King's Court at a city was naturally a great benefit to it, and so it was a hardship upon Lincoln that it was debarred from the honour and profit of such an occasion. Even Huntingdon refrains from offering any explanation, for, to him, it was no doubt obvious, but when

we find the Norman Kings refusing to visit the city and at the same time the citizens themselves, through their moneyers, endeavouring to change its name, suspicion falls on the name itself. No wonder the superstitious Norman objected to wear his crown in the city which in his own tongue was *Linceul*—the shroud of death.

Turning to the 1130 Pipe Roll we notice several items of interest. "Gerard de Grimsby" (who is styled *monetarius* in the 1156 Roll, and may possibly have come from Bristol, see p. 126) and "Godric de Grimsby," "Gerard de Limber" and (under Rutland, probably because of their possessions in that county) "Elwi and Shipman," are mentioned as having to account for certain fees on a treasury plea. They were probably the royal moneyers of the city or those responsible for the *firma* of its mint: Godric's name appears on type 262 (1128-1131), and Elwi's on type 255 (1131-1135). Siwat de Holland, who is fined on a plea of false coining, is no doubt the SPET whose name is on types 265 and 262 (1126-1131), but then, as a matter of course, disappears. In the case of Osbertus Palmarius, who "accounts for 15 marks of silver for Toch, the false coiner who absconded," we have also ample grounds for identification. The former is clearly the OSBERTVS who coined on type 255 (1131-1135), and therefore he must have succeeded Toch, whose name TOE disappears with type IV (1121-1123). Toch would be one of the "94" moneyers who were summoned to Winchester for the Great Inquisition of Christmas, 1125 (see p. 81), but he—perhaps wisely—fled. He would be fined and outlawed, and so in 1129-30 his office was probably purchased by Osbertus at the price of his outstanding fine of 20 marks of silver. Hence, in the following year, Osbertus commences his coinage with the new type.

That the mint maintained its royal character in 1157 is proved by the entry in the Pipe Roll for that year: "the moneyers of Lincoln account for £220," an enormous amount at that time. It was continued until the reign of Edward II, perhaps even later, and its actual site was probably near the New Port Gate, where some ancient remains are still known as "the Mint Wall" (see under London, the reasons for believing that the royal mints were stationed at the gates of the City, p. 278).

COINS.

✠ AHGEMVND ON LIN ✠ HNRIVS RI 251

T. Bliss. From the Walpole-White and Montagu, 1897, collections, and perhaps the Warren Sale, 1869, described as "found at Ixworth." As to this moneyer, see before.

✠ ÆLWI : ON : NICOLE ✠ hENRIVS 255

Royal Mint; Sheriff Mackenzie.

✠ ELWI : ON hEN . . . VS 255

Watford find. As to this moneyer, see before.

✠ [AR]EIL ON LIN . HENRI REX 251

Bodleian Library. As to this moneyer, see before.

✠ . AML ON LINEOL 252

Webb Sale, 1895. Probably an error for Arcil.

. . . EI . ON LINE . hENRIE REX 263

J. Murdoch. From the Marsham, 1888, and Montagu, 1896, Sales.

✠ARN[L]I[L] O[N N]IC[OL]E ✠hEN 255

Watford find. Arcil and Arncil were indifferently used on Saxon coins.

✠ARNCI ON NICOLE : ✠hEN 256

Captain R. J. H. Douglas. Captain Douglas has, for many years, assisted this work by furnishing readings of coins.

✠ASLADE ON : NIEOL : ✠hENRIEVS 255

Specimens, Dr. M. Perry, J. Verity. Aslade continued to coin in Stephen's reign.

✠ASLAED : ON : NIGOL ✠hENRIEVS 256

Specimens, Watford find 3; L. A. Lawrence; W. J. Andrew. As to the G see p. 97.

✠BRVMAN ON LIN ✠HENRI REX AN 251

Christmas Sale, 1864, £3 5s.

✠BRVNMAN : ON [LI]NE ✠hENRIEVS 256

British Museum. This moneyer was probably a son of the above.

✠BRVNMAN ON . . . ✠. . RIEVS 255

Watford find, 2 specimens; Royal Mint collection.

✠EDMVND : ON : LIN ✠hENRIEVS R 255

Engraved, Withy and Ryall, ii., 22, and Snelling, I., 24. An Edmund coined here for the Confessor.

✠GODRIE ON LINE ✠HENRI RI 254

B. Roth. From the Brice and Montagu, 1896, £4 15s. Od., collections.

✠GODR[IL O]N NIEOL: ✠hE...ILVS... 264

British Museum. From the Berge, 1873,
£3 8s., Simpson-Rostron, 1892, £3, and
Montagu, 1896, £2 18s., Sales.

[✠GOD]RIEVS ON ✠LIEOLEN: RE 255

British Museum. Fig. R, p. 76. Pl. VI,
No. 2. Engraved, Rud. Sup. ii., 2. 12.
From the Roberts collection. Obverse,
two quatrefoils before the sceptre. The
moneyer's name is far from distinct.

✠G[ODRIE] O[N] ✠N[IEOL]E: 258

British Museum. A *halfpenny*. Pl. VI, No. 9.
The letters within the brackets are merely
conjectural.

✠GODRI[E] ON NIEOL ... NRILVS R 262

Watford find. As to this moneyer, see before.

✠GODRIEVS . N NIEOL ✠hENRIEVS 255

J. Verity. Probably from the Borrell Sale,
1848, though then read "Henricus."

✠LEFRIE [ON] NICOLE: ✠hENRIE... 255

P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton.

✠NVhERD ONLIN 257

Bari find. The description is ✠NVhERD ON
IA, but we have the curious name VHERD
on a Lincoln coin of Canute. See the next
coin.

[✱] NV[hE]RD O[✱]N LIN 258

Sir John Evans. **Pl. VI, No. 6.** Obverse, two quatrefoils before the sceptre. The letters in brackets are, of course, unreliable.

✱ OSBERTVS ON LIN 255

Cotton Sale, 1889. As to this moneyer, see before. A Richard Fitz Osbert, probably his son, held a fief from Earl Bigod in 1165.

✱ OSBERTVS ON : LII ✱ hENRIE : 255
Lincoln and Son. An unusual *obv.* legend.

✱ OSBIRhT ON LIN 255

Belt Sale, 1892 (corrected).

✱ RILARD ON LINE ✱ HENRI REX A 251

Engraved Withy and Ryall, ii., 2. Corrected, but the Lombardic h on the obverse and the colon on the reverse prove the engraver's reading to be unreliable.

✱ SPET ON LINCOLN 265

The Christmas, 1864, and "Lady in the North," 1873, Sales. As to this moneyer, see before.

✱ SPET ON NIE ENRIEVS 262

P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton.

✱ [SPE]T : ON : NI[LO]LE ✱ . EN . . . V. 262

A. A. Banes. Obverse, a larger head than usual.

✱ TOE ON LILOLEN : ✱ hENRIEVS REX AN IV

Major H. W. Morrieson. Some previous

owner has attempted to alter TOE into TOMAS.
As to this moneyer, see before. Major Morrieson
has contributed many readings to these lists.

The similarities of the names LIN to LVN and
NIOLE to COLE (Colchester) have caused
much confusion in catalogue attributions.

LONDON AND SOUTHWARK.

LUNDENCEASTER, LUNDENE, LUDENE, LUNDONIUM, LUNDONE,
LUNDINIUM; Domesday, LUNDONIA; Pipe Roll, LONDONIA.
SUTHGEWERE, SUTHWERCHA, SUDOVERCA; Domesday, SUDWER-
CHE; Pipe Roll, SVDWERCHA.

In the days when our history was without form and void, the earthworks of London already enclosed a Celtic city. The lines of these fortifications were to some extent adopted by the Roman conquerors for their walls, and thus from time immemorial the site of the City of London has never been varied. Tacitus speaks of London in the days of Nero in much the same terms as we describe it to-day, viz., as the chief resort of merchants and a great concourse of trade. To the holy Bede it was "a princely mart town," and when Ethelbert of Kent founded the ancient church of St. Paul the city was even then "the emporium of a vast number of nations who resorted thither by sea and by land." In the ninth century it was more than once devastated by the Danes, but King Alfred "honourably rebuilt the city and made it again habitable," and afterwards, in the words of the Saxon Chronicler, "oft they fought against the City of London, but praise be to God that it yet stands sound; and they there ever met with ill fare."

1086. Domesday notes.—It is curious that the survey of London is entirely omitted from the Roll. Possibly some similar record was already in existence which formed the model for the general inquisition, but which, being separate, has been lost. If one may venture an opinion on so hypothetical a subject, it is, that the returns for London, though containing larger figures, would have been very similar in their details to those of Lincoln.

Southwark.—King Edward held Southwark to the day of his death. Whosoever held the church held it of the King. Of the harbour dues the King had two parts and Earl Godwin the third. The men of the Hundred, both Normans and English, testify that the Bishop of Bayeux might have entered a plea with Ranulf the Sheriff concerning these. But he, understanding that the plea did not lend itself favourably to the judgment of the King, dropped it. He has a monastery and a wharf. But he gave the church and the wharf, first to Adelold, and, since, to Radulf in exchange for a house [? his episcopal palace]. The Sheriff, however, denied that he had ever received the King's confirmation or seal in this business. The men of Southwark testify that in the time of King Edward no one took toll either on the strand or on the river-bank—except the King. What the King has in Southwark is valued at £16.

1100. August. Henry is elected King at London and crowned at Westminster, when he grants his coronation charter. (Wendover.)

Ranulf, Bishop of Durham, is committed to the Tower, its earliest state prisoner. (Orderic.)

1101. The romantic escape of Bishop Ranulf. (Orderic.)

1106. Southwark.—An order of canons is established at St. Mary Overies [*i.e., over rée = river*]. (Westminster.)

1107. Death of Maurice, Bishop of London.

1108. Richard de Beaumais is consecrated Bishop "at his chapel at Peckham." (Florence.) "He zealously exerted himself in the construction of the new cathedral which had been commenced by his predecessor, and he nearly completed the work." (Orderic.)

1109. Envoys "of great stature" attend Henry's Whitsuntide Court at London to negotiate the future mar-

riage of the Princess Matilda with their Emperor, Henry V. of Germany. (Huntingdon.)

1114. October 10. The Thames is fordable "between the bridge and the Royal Tower, even under the bridge." (Florence. This was the old wooden bridge which preceded the stone structure, commenced in 1176.)

1118. Matilda, Queen of England, died at Westminster on the 1st of May, and was interred with due ceremony in that monastery. (Florence.)

1123. The church of St. Bartholomew, Smithfield, is founded "in the suburbs of London." (Westminster.)

1127. January 1. The first oath of fealty to the Empress Matilda, as successor to the crown, is sworn by the barons at the London court. (Continuator of Florence.)

1128. Death of Bishop Richard.

1129. January 22. Gilbert "the Universal" is consecrated Bishop. (Continuator of Florence.)

1130. Pipe Roll notes.—London.—Fulchred Fitz Walter accounts, apparently as a former sheriff, for the arrears of the previous year's *firma*. But now four sheriffs account for the *firma*, which, including payments, amounts to £536 10s. 10½d., but as the accounts are in payments, partly by number and partly blanché, it was probably 800 marks = £533 6s. 8d. These payments include the cost of the Tower garrison, of the obsequies at Queen Matilda's tomb, of building two arches to London Bridge, of work at the Tower (probably construction of the curtain wall), of repairs to the houses which were Otter's and the chapel, and an allowance of "£3 0s. 10d. to the *aurifabri* of London for charcoal." The tolls of the market and the guild of the cloth weavers are mentioned. The references to William Fitz Otho, *aurifaber*, and Wyzo Fitz Leofstan, have already been given on pages 40 and 87. "Godwin Quachehand owes four marks of gold that he might have peace from a monetary plea." "Algar and Spracheling owe ten marks of silver for a conviction of false pennies." "The men of London account for 100 marks of silver that they may have a sheriff of their own election."

Southwark.—The burg pays 7s. 6d., 14s. 2d., and £1 4s. in *auxilium*.

1132. "On the 11th of April the City of London was almost entirely destroyed by fire." (Westminster.)

1135. "The Church of St. Paul was burnt by a fire which began at London Bridge and extended as far as the Church of the Danes." (Westminster. Possibly a repetition of the previous record.)

The mint of London may claim to be the oldest existing public institution of any description in the Kingdom. Its origin dates from the introduction of coinage into this country when the government itself was still under tribal divisions. It was in operation under the Romans, and from their day to this, with the exception of a very few intermittent periods, whenever money has been issued in England it has provided its share of the output, and of late years has supplied the whole demand.

For more than two thousand years its moneyers have practised their art within a comparatively few yards of its present site, and, with the exception perhaps of the flint workers of Brandon, whose occupation has survived from neolithic times, they thus carry on the oldest-established business in England. During the whole of this long period of time the Mint of London has always remained a royal mint, and it was not until the year 1869 that the office of Master—or Moneyer—of the Mint was merged in that of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. That it was a royal mint and under the immediate control of the Sovereign is hardly needful of proof, but in the absence of any evidence in Domesday it may be pointed out that all the charters of Henry II, Richard I, John and Henry III confirming the City of London to the citizens, excepted from the privilege that no citizen should be required to plead without the walls of the City "my moneyers and officers." From the first coinage of William, the Conqueror to the last coinage of Henry I no type is absent from our series of the London mint.

The mint of Southwark, however, was not established until the reign of Ethelred II, and was only continued to that of Stephen, although revived for a short period under the Tudors. It was also a royal mint, and it is possible that the ancient privileges of freedom from arrest within its precincts, which were not finally abolished until the Act of 1 George IV, were a survival of that status. It will be noticed that the two mints of London and Southwark are here, for the first time, classed together under one heading, and the reason for it is, that they were worked together jointly by the same royal moneyers and under one administration; for the mint of Southwark was an appendage to the mint of London. It is curious that no one seems to have called attention to the fact that all the names—and they are Legion—of the Southwark moneyers of every reign during its existence appear on the contemporary coins of London. If, indeed, there are any exceptions to this rule, the answer must be that our coinage to-day is not necessarily complete so far as all the names of the London moneyers are concerned. But, as the London series of types is usually an almost complete series, and much more so than that of Southwark, it follows that coinage at the latter place was of minor importance.

Ethelred II, who seems to have originated and appended the Southwark mint to London, probably did so at the same time that he proclaimed certain laws which had for their object the benefit of the Londoners by a betterment of the coinage. They are headed *De Institutis Lundonie*, and are given with the various readings in *The Ancient Laws and Institutions of England*, Ed. Thorpe, 1840. These laws, to which my attention has been drawn by Mr. Frederick Spicer, have been handed down to us

in, unfortunately, a very corrupt and disjointed form. They are addressed to the King's Officers of the City Gates, and concern the regulations to be observed at the gates—in particular, at Aldersgate, Cripplesgate, and Billingsgate. There are several copies extant in their entirety of these "Institutes," but as Bromton, who is followed by Ruding, vol. i. p. 133, includes some of the paragraphs in the general ordinances decreed at Wantage, omitting, however, all the special references to London, it is quite possible that such clauses were then re-enacted in the public laws for the country. But the remaining authorities are headed and addressed as above, and when the word *portus*, which seems to be used indifferently with *porta* throughout, is given its twelfth-century meaning of a city gate—see Du Cange—just as we, conversely, find gate used for port in Ramsgate, &c., the whole reads intelligibly and throws new light on the then system of a royal mint. The Institutes provide for the punishment of those who forged, circulated, or connived at impure money, or who tested (and so injured) good money, and they hold the Officers of the Gates, *ipsi qui portus custodiunt* (in which the money was coined), responsible for its weight and quality. But the most important clause provides that there should be three moneyers in each of the principal gates, *in omni summo portu*, and one in each of the others, who might have subordinates under them. The gates at that time were no doubt the principal public or royal buildings in the city, and the three referred to above were probably the principal gates, so, by adding one each for Aldgate, Ludgate, and Dowgate, there would be twelve moneyers at London, which agrees very fairly with the apparent number of moneyers upon our London coins of Ethelred II and his immediate successor. The institution of royal

moneyers in the gates of a city was not only convenient as providing places of exchange for the merchants on entering it, but it brought the moneyers under the direct supervision of the King's officer in charge of the defence of the walls—the later castellan of Norman times—who, unless he could clear himself “by oath or the triple ordeal,” was to be held responsible equally with the moneyer for the purity of the coinage. Under Nottingham and Oxford, for instance, we shall see that moneyers were referred to as “de porta” or “juxta murum,” and when cities and towns were mainly defended by earthen ramparts, the gates, no doubt, served for all public or royal purposes—

“Unto the elders of the city in the gate.”—Deut. 22, 15.

Turning to Domesday we find that the King, through his sheriff, claimed the town of Southwark as a royal demesne, and such it remained until Edward III farmed “the village of Southwark to the citizens of London at the same *firma* as was theretofore accustomed to be paid by it” (*Charters of the City of London*, 1738, p. 36). If the Southwark mint was appended to London, as there can be no doubt it was, it follows that its *firma* would be included in the London returns, and not under Southwark, in the Domesday Survey. Hence the mint is not mentioned. There is nothing unusual in this, for, as explained on pages 160-162, the Maldon mint was similarly appendant to that of Colchester, and therefore its *firma* is only mentioned under the latter heading, for it was paid by the Colchester moneyers, and when not in use a proportionate reduction was allowed in their *firma*. This explains the intermittent character of the series of Norman types issued at both Maldon and Southwark.

As London and Southwark were royal mints, it follows that the moneyers were tenants *in capite* of the King, and equal in status to those already described of the royal mint at Lincoln. Before passing on to the coinage of Henry I, one or two examples in support of this contention may be taken from the coins of William I and II. The names of the moneyers Godwine, Theodric, and Ewart, appear on the coins of London as GODPINE, DIDRIC, and EADPART. From a charter, given in the Monasticon, and dated 1084, it appears that Godwine and his wife Turund were the owners of the advowson of the Church of St. Nicholas at London, and that Theodric "the moneyer" held a half share in certain [? adjoining] land, which Ewart the *Aurifaber* held. By the charter the two former granted the church to Malmesbury Abbey on condition that the abbot should admit them into his church as [lay] members, and also pay £6 on Godwine's behalf to Theodric for his share in the land.

We will now go a step further and endeavour to construct at least one pedigree of a family of London moneyers in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Derman of London holds half a hide of land at Islington, which land Algar, "the man [? moneyer or officer] of King Edward" held (Domesday). Derman had therefore succeeded, and was probably the son of Algar, and both names appear on the London coins of the Confessor, viz., as ALDGAR and DEORMAN. In 1086 Derman must have been an old man, and so his sons would probably have taken his place as King's moneyers. Mr. Round tells us in the *Commune of London*, p. 106:—

"Tierri son of Deorman" [*i.e.* Theodric fitz Derman, who witnessed a charter of 1137 quoted in Geoffrey de Mandeville's Charter of 1144, p. 101] "was the heir, perhaps the son of that

'Derman of London' who is entered in Domesday as holding half a hide at Islington, and the father of Bertram 'filius Theodoric filii Derman,' otherwise Bertram 'de Barwe,' who held Newington Barrow in Islington."

Although 'Tierri fitz Derman' was the heir of Derman of Islington, we shall see presently that there must have been two generations between the two Derman. The later coincidence of the names Theodoric, son of Derman, suggests that "Theodric the moneyer" of the 1084 charter to Malmesbury Abbey, referred to above, was the son of Derman of Islington, and that Godwine [de] Beare (Barwe), one of the witnesses, was his brother. Theodric was then coming for William I, and his name also appears on types 252 (1106-1108) and 267 (1112-1114) of Henry I as ÆODRIE, and the moneyer GODPINE, on William's coins and on type 251 (1100-1102) of Henry I, was probably Godwine de Beare. Between the presumable death of Theodric in 1114 and the first appearance of the name of the second Derman there is a gap of seventeen years. This is represented by the father of Derman, whose name, as we shall presently see, must have been Richard, but who does not appear to have been a moneyer. On type 255 (1131-1135) the name of DERMAN, variously spelt, is one of the most frequent moneyers, and it is often followed by the letters R, RE, or RI, *e.g.* "†DERMAN : RI : ON LV." This, as his son's coins will prove, can only stand for "Derman [fitz] Ri[card]." Derman continued to coin during the first type only of Stephen's reign. On the second type of that reign his son Tierri's name first appears, and it is similarly followed by the letter "D," *e.g.* "†TIERRI : D : ON : LVN" for Tierri [fitz] D[erman]. He continued to coin throughout the reign and into that of Henry II.

Tierri, in his turn, is followed in the reign of John by **✠WILL&LM:T:ON:LV** (for William [fitz] T[ierri]), and thus we have a very simple explanation of the mysterious letters which so frequently follow the names of the moneyers in the "short-cross" series, and which usually correspond with the initials of previous moneyers' names. A custom which seems to have been introduced on type 255 of Henry I. Surely no doubt can remain that **TIERRI:D:** on the coins of Stephen represented the Tierricus fitz Derman of London, who is mentioned in the 1130 Pipe Roll as receiving an allowance of 20s. 6d. from the King's revenue, and the Tierri fitz Derman who witnessed the 1144 charter at London, and a charter of John fitz Andrew in the Colchester cartulary (Commune of London, 112) ?

As we have seen that the majority, at least, of the lagemen of Lincoln were royal moneyers, so whenever we find a charter which, owing to its civic character, was witnessed by the leading citizens of London, we should expect to find a proportion, at least, of its witnesses identifiable as moneyers on the contemporary coins.

Several comparisons of this description will be drawn in the following list of coins, and many more would be forthcoming if the enquiry—which is a subject worthy of separate research—were pursued ; and amongst them we shall find some reason to suspect that Gilbert Beket, the father of the famous archbishop, at one time held the office of royal moneyer.

In 1130 the Pipe Roll records two entries concerning London moneyers. Godwin Quachehand owes four marks of gold for his pardon on a monetary plea, probably referring to arrears due to the Crown of his *firma* for the mint. This is the Godwine of types 262 and 255 (1128-

1135), for, having received "his peace," it would not act as a forfeiture of his office. Mr. Verity has a coin of his reading †GODPINE 6V:—probably in this instance for 6VALEHEAND, not fitz Guillelm, which, if so, is especially interesting, as not only being an early instance of a contracted surname, but showing that the Saxon custom of using 6 for Q was still continued. This custom seems to have been maintained throughout our coinage until after the reign of Henry III.

"Algar and Spracheling owe ten marks of silver for a conviction of false pennies." In this we have an instance of the punishment accorded to fraudulent moneyers—it is only the financial record, for the bodily penalty did not concern the Exchequer. It of course operated as an estoppel of their office, and although we find both names on most of the types from the commencement of the reign and, at this period, Algar's on types IV, 258, 265, and 262 (1121 to 1129-1131), and Spracheling's (as SPERLING) on IV (1121-1123) and 265 (1126-1128), they both now disappear from our regal coinage. Whether these two moneyers passed under the hands of the public executioner and suffered the dreadful penalty of maiming, as probably they did, the Exchequer record does not tell us; but if they did, we do know that Algar survived it. Some years ago a few ancient forgeries were discovered, and subsequently passed into the cabinet of Mr. L. A. Lawrence. They are five in number, and all from the same dies—namely, of the obverse of Stephen's first type and of the reverse of type 255 (1131-1135). The forgeries themselves are of copper thinly plated with silver, and although no single coin is readable—perhaps purposely so—when classed together the reverse legend is †ALGAR : ON : LVN. They are the relics of a long-for-

gotten story of crime, and they picture the maimed and disgraced Algar taking advantage of the public disorder upon the accession of Stephen to eke out a miserable existence by the last resort of a fallen moneyer, a resort as debased as his own forgeries.

We now come to a striking illustration of the light which the dumb records of our coins may throw upon controversial matters of history. Until Mr. Round published *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, the very foundation charter of London's civic rights was antedated some thirty years and arbitrarily given to the year 1101; but Mr. Round, with his usual accurate reasoning, finally demonstrated that it could not have been in existence prior to the Pipe Roll, and therefore its date must have been "between 1130 and 1135." We shall now see that its specific date was in 1130 or before Michaelmas 1131. The entry in the Pipe Roll of that year that "the men of London account for 100 marks of silver that they may have a sheriff of their own election," is not conclusive, as the contracted Latin form *viċ* may stand either in the plural for the four sheriffs under the old *régime* or in the singular for the sole sheriff allowed under the charter, but in view of the evidence forthcoming from the charter itself it most likely represents the fee payable for the new charter. Amongst the privileges it grants is this: "the citizens shall not plead without the walls upon any plea." Now it is quite clear that the effect of that clause must have operated to the King's disadvantage in some unforeseen manner, for when Henry II, Richard, John and Henry III confirm the charter they are all careful to add to the clause the exception of "my moneyers and officers." The charter granted to the citizens the right "to hold Middlesex to farm for £300 upon account to them and

their heirs, so that the said citizens shall place as sheriff whom they will of themselves, and shall place whomsoever, or such one as they will of themselves, for keeping of the pleas of the Crown and of the pleading of the same, and none other shall be justice over the same men of London" (Charters of the City of London). The effect of this was that, as the sheriff of the citizens had the same powers as the former royal sheriffs had, he would collect the *firma* of the King's moneyers, and yet all he had to pay to the King was a total annual rent of £300. Moreover, having paid their pleas to the sheriff, the King could not call on the moneyers to plead for the *firma* of their mint to him, for as citizens of London they could not be called upon to plead outside their walls. So, as was probably intended, the citizens by the charter became possessed of their own mint. But they were not satisfied with the spirit of the charter, for it could never have been intended to grant them the royal mint of Southwark also—and yet they astutely availed themselves of the letter of the charter to secure to themselves the profits of that mint as well. We have seen that the Southwark mint was appended to that of London and farmed by the London moneyers, yet the King, if indeed he ever gave it a thought, would naturally presume that as the mint was outside the county of Middlesex, its moneyers would necessarily be under his own jurisdiction and he could, of course, call upon them to plead for their *firma*. But it immediately occurred to the citizens that if they closed the mint of Southwark, so much the more money would be in demand from their own mint and its profits would be correspondingly increased. They had no right to close the mint but under the wording of their charter—what could the King do?

If he called on the Southwark moneyers to plead why they should not pay their *firma* notwithstanding that the mint was closed, their answer was that the charter privileged them as citizens of London only to plead to their own sheriff and within their walls. So, at or before Michaelmas, 1131, the citizens closed the Southwark mint and kept it closed until some time in the following reign of Stephen. If this statement is correct, it follows that the date of the charter must be either in the current year of the Pipe Roll (Michaelmas, 1129—Michaelmas, 1130), but not yet in operation, or before Michaelmas, 1131, when the Southwark mint was certainly closed. The evidence is strong, for up to and including type 262 (1128-1131, Michaelmas) the mint of Southwark had been one of the most prolific in the country. The next type is 255 (1131-1135), of which altogether more than 600 specimens have been noted, or about two-thirds of the total of the known coins of Henry I, and yet though hundreds are of London, not a single example bears the name of Southwark! Moreover, the names of the Southwark moneyers who coined on type 262, with the exception of that of the convicted Algar, now appear at London on 255. Therefore we may safely say that coinage at Southwark was discontinued during the whole period of issue of the type. But that is not all; if the citizens of London closed the mint of Southwark, it necessitated their making provision for the necessarily corresponding increase in the output of their own mint, and no doubt many of them would covet the emoluments of the office of moneyer, so this is what we find. In the previous type 262 (1128-1131) the royal moneyers of London numbered eight, but now, in type 255 (1131-1135) including those transferred from Southwark, there are no

fewer than *twenty*, which is probably the exact limit in number arranged by the citizens. No wonder Henry II and his successors excepted their own moneyers and officers [of the mint] from the privilege of only having "to plead within the walls of the city" !

COINS.

✠ÆDƆAR

See under Reading, pages 273-277.

✠IELFPINE ON LVND ✠HNRILVS REI 251

Bodleian Library. The IE = Æ for Ælfwine, which name appears on London coins from the time of Ethelred II.

✠IELFPINE ON LVN ✠HNRI REX NL 251

Capt. R. J. H. Douglas. Pl. II, No. 2.

✠IELFPINE ON LIIN ✠HNRI REX 251

British Museum. From the Tyssen Sale, 1802.

✠IELFPINE O LVND ✠HNRILVS REI 251

J. Verity. From the Webb Sale, 1895.

✠IELFPINE O LVND ✠HNRILVS REI 251

British Museum. From the Bank of England collection.

✠IELFPINE ONLVND ✠HENRI REX 254

L. A. Lawrence, 19 grs. From the Bateman Sale, 1893, and probably Whitbourn, 1869,

and Moore, 1858, Sales ; T. Bearman, from the Boyne Sale, 1896, and Sale, March, 1886.

✠ IELFPINE O LVND ✠ HENRI REX 254

B. Roth. From the Montagu, 1897, £3, and Marsham, 1888, Sales.

✠ IELFPINE ON.III ✠ HENRI REI 254

British Museum. Fig. B, page 45.

✠ IELFPINE ON.VND ✠ HENRI REX 253

L. A. Lawrence. 20 grs.

✠ IELFPINE ON LVN ✠ HENRI REX 253

L. A. Lawrence. Probably from the Dymock Sale, 1841.

✠ IELFPINE $\overline{\text{O}}$ N.II ✠ HENRI REX I 253

British Museum. Probably from the Tyssen Sale.

✠ IELFPINE ON.II ✠ HENRI R. . . 253

Hunterian Museum, Glasgow University.

✠ IELFPINE ON LV 252

Sale at Edinburgh, 1884.

✠ ALFPINE : ON : SVT ✠ HENRI REX 256

Engraved Snelling, i., 20. But it may be the coin now read LEFPINE, &c.

✠ALFPINE ON LVND 267

Bari find.

✠ELFPINE ON LVNDE 267

Bari find.

✠ALFPINE ON LVND : ✠HENRI RE 266

L. A. Lawrence. 17 grs. Found at Bedford.
Fig. K, page 65.

✠AL ON LVNDO ✠HENRI REX 263

British Museum. Pl. V, No. 4. Engraved
Snelling, i., 18, and Ruding, Sup., I., 10 ;
but see page 72. As to the moneyer, see
page 201.

✠ . . FPINE ON : LVN ✠HENRI REX 263

Engraved Ruding, Sup., II., i., 7.

. . LFPINE . . ✠LVNDENE . . NR . . 258

J Murdoch. Pl. VI, No. 1. From the
Marsham, 1888, £10 10s. 0d., Simpson
Rostron, 1892, £8 17s. 6d., and Montagu,
1896, £8, Sales. Obverse, two quatrefoils
before the sceptre. Reverse, ✠LVNDENE
in the inner circle. To the above pedigree
the Wigan and Cuff collections have been
usually added, but Mr. Cuff had only one
specimen of the type and that a Southwark
coin. But as this is identical with the des-
cription given by the Rev. R. F. Whistler,
Num. Chron. II., xiii., 175, of a coin from
the Battle find of 1860, it may be accepted
as the same. The moneyer has hitherto been
assumed to be [PV]LFPINE, but as "ON"
must fill one of the two blank segments of
space between the outer ornaments, there

would be little room for ✠PV in the other. Moreover, we do not know that a Wulfwine coined between 1121 and 1131, whereas Alfwine's types represent almost a complete series of the reign.

.. FPI .. ✠ON LVND hENR 258

British Museum. Pl. VI, No. 3. Engraved Ruding, Sup. II., 2, No. 13 (but the H in the obverse legend should be h). From the Roberts, and, probably, Tyssen, 1802, collections. Obverse, five small annulets between the head and sceptre and a broken annulet on the outline of the nose; but these are no doubt disjointed portions of the usual quatre-foils artlessly crammed in for want of space. Reverse, ✠ON LVND in the inner circle.

✠ALFPINE : .. LVND : ✠hENRIEVS R : 265

British Museum. Engraved Hawkins, 265, and, probably, Withy and Ryall, ii., 21. From the Trattle collection.

✠ALFPINE : ON : SVDPER ✠hENRIEVS R 262

Watford find; Milford Haven find; N. Heywood; Lincoln and Son.

✠ALFPINE ON LVN ✠hENRIEVS : 255

Nottingham Castle, from the Nottingham find; Watford find.

✠ALFPINE ON LVND EVS 255

Watford find, 2 specimens. Alfwine continued to coin in Stephen's reign. He was, perhaps, the Ailwinus fitz Radumf [Ralph], citizen of London, of 1137 (Commune of London, 100).

. IEDRRIHL ON LVI 254

Cuff Sale, 1854, £2 16s. Probably a misreading or blunder for ✠DEODRIE.

. AILRINL ON LVN 252

Benwell Sale, 1849. Probably ALFPINE.

✠ALGAR ONLVND ✠HENRI REX 251

Spink and Son. The moneyer had coined at Southwark for Rufus.

✠ALGAR ON LVNDN ✠HNRI REX NL 251

British Museum. Fig. A, page 42. Engraved Snelling, i., 13, and Hawkins, 251.

✠ALGAR ONLVND ✠HENRI REX 254

Spink and Son. Pl. II, No. 6.

✠ALGAR ON LVND . HENRI RE 254

Bodleian Library.

✠ALGAR ON LVND : ✠hENRI RE : 252

Sir John Evans; P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton. Pl. III, No. 1; Fitz-William Museum, Cambridge; Allen Sale, 1898; the latter two are from the Shillington find.

✠ALGAR ON L . . DE ✠hE . R . . 252

L. A. Lawrence. 20 grs.

✠ALGAR OHVH ✠hENRI REX 257

L. A. Lawrence. 20½ grs. Pl. III, No. 7. From the Allen Sale, 1898.

✠ALGER : ON . LVND : 267

Bari find.

✠ALGAR : ON : LVND ✠HENRI REX AN IV

L. A. Lawrence, 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ grs.; W. J. Andrew;
J. Young, Leicester; Wakeford Sale, 1879.

✠ALGAR ON SVTPVR hEN . . 258

Montagu Sale, 1896, £8 5s. From the Cuff, 1854, £5 2s. 6d., Wigan, Neck and Webb, 1894, £9, collections. Found at St. Albans. Obverse, between the head and sceptre four annulets joined, no doubt representing one of the quatrefoils. Sketched by Mr. Cuff in his, now Mr. Webster's, copy of Ruding.

✠ALGAR : ON : LVNDE : ✠HENRIEVS R 265

J. Murdoch. **Pl. VI, No. 11.** Probably the coin engraved Withy and Ryall, ii., 19.

✠ALGAR : ON . LVNDE ✠HENRIEVS R : 265

Bodleian Library.

✠ALGAR ON LVNDENE : ✠HENRIEVS R 262

Watford find. As to this moneyer, see before.

✠ALGAR ON LVNDEN : ✠HENRIEVS R 262

Watford find, 3 specimens; J. Verity; Wakeford Sale, 1879, £2; Moon Sale, 1901.

✠ALGAR : ON LVNDE ✠HENRIEVS R 262

Bodleian Library.

♣ALGA[R ON] SVDPER ♣hENRIEVS R 262

British Museum. From the Montagu Sale,
1896, £5 7s. 6d.

♣ALGAR : ON : SVDPE : ♣hENRIEVS R 262

W. J. Andrew. **Pl. VII, No. 4.** From the
Milford Haven find ; Watford find ; Lincoln
and Son.

♣ALGAR : ON : SVDPER : ♣hENRIEVS R 262

British Museum ; Capt. R. J. H. Douglas,
Pl. VII, No. 7. P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton.

♣BALDEPIN : ON : LVN : ♣hENRIEVS 255

Watford find, 12 specimens ; F. A. Walters,
probably the Bergne coin ; Lincoln and Son.

[♣BALD]EPIN : ON : . . . ♣hENRI : 255

Watford find. This form of the obverse legend
would seem not to occur on any other coin
of this type. See page 96.

♣BALDEPINE ON LVN ♣hENRIEVS 255

Watford find, 2 specimens ; L. A. Lawrence,
probably from the Cureton Sale, 1859 ;
P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton ; J. Verity.

♣BALDEPIN ON : LVN : ♣hENRIEVS : 255

Watford find. A. H. Sadd.

For other coins of this moneyer, see under
Reading, pages 377-78.

♣BLAEM[AN ON]VN ♣HENRI REX 254

G. Deakin.

♣BLADAMAN ONLV ♣hENRI RE 252

W. J. Andrew. **Pl. III, No. 2.** This name
frequently occurs on Saxon coins, but not at

London. Perhaps the family, like the Smæwines, came here from Guildford when that mint was discontinued. Blacman Street, Southwark, is mentioned in Edward VI's charter to London.

✠B[LA]EAMAN ON LV ✠hENRI RE: 252
British Museum.

✠BLA VND ✠hENRI RE 252
J. Verity. From the Allen Sale, 1898.

✠BLAEAMAN : ON · L ✠hENRI REX 256
L. E. Bruun of Copenhagen.

✠BLAEAMAN ON LV ✠hENRI . . . ANGL IV
British Museum. As to the lettering see
page 73.

✠BLAEAMAN ON L. ✠hENRIEVS REX IV
Montagu Sale, 1897.

✠BLA . MAN : ON L : ✠hENRI . . . ANGL IV
British Museum.

✠BLAEMN : ON LV . DE hENR . . 258
L. A. Lawrence. The unique variety of this
type described and illustrated, Fig. T, pages
82-3.

✠BLAHEMAN : ONLVN : ✠hENRIEVS RE : 262
British Museum. Fig. V, page 89; Watford
find. Engraved *Archæologia*, xxi., 540.

✠BLA : ON : LVN ✠hENRIEVS R 262
G. Hodges.

✠BRICHMAR ON : LVN ✠hENRIEVS 255

Watford find, 3 specimens ; J. Verity ; A. H. Sadd. As to this moneyer, see under Tamworth, page 419.

✠BRHEMAR ON LV : ✠hENRIEVS 255

Watford find, 2 specimens ; A. H. Sadd.

..... MAR : ON : LVND ✠hENRIE .. 255

J. Verity. From the Boyne Sale, 1896.

.... ETMAR ON LVN ✠hENRIEVS 255

Watford find. 3 specimens. Brichmar continued to coin here in Stephen's reign.

✠BRHTPIN ON LV ✠HNRI REX N 251

C. M. Crompton-Roberts. From the Holmes, 1890, and Nunn, 1896, Sales. The Brihtwins had coined here since Saxon times.

✠BRIHTPI ON LVN 251

Barter Sale.

✠BRANT O . LV .. ✠hENR. . . . 252

P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton. BIENT occurs here in the previous reign.

✠BRVNIE ON LVN ✠HNBIEV RE 251

Hunterian Museum, Glasgow University. Pl. II, No. 5. This moneyer had coined here for the Williams, and the name occurs on Saxon coins.

- ✠BRVNIE ON LVN 251
Brice Sale, 1881.
- ✠B . . . IE ON LVN 252
Shillington find, 2 specimens ; Allen Sale, 1898.
- ✠DEREMAN RI : ON : LVN ✠hENRIEVS 255
Watford find, 9 specimens ; L. A. Lawrence ;
Lincoln and Son. As to this moneyer see
page 281.
- ✠DEREMAN RI ON LVND 255
Sale, January, 1860.
- ✠DEREMAN RE ON LVN ✠hENBIEVS 255
Late J. Toplis.
- ✠DEREMAN RI ON LV . . ENR . EVS : 255
British Museum.
- ✠DERMAN : RI : ON LV ✠hEN . ILVS 255
J. Verity.
- ✠DEREMAN : R : ON LV ✠hENRIEVS 255
Watford find, 2 specimens ; British Museum,
from Mr. Rashleigh ; F. A. Walters.
- ✠DEREMAN R : ON : LVN ✠hENBIEVS 255
Watford find, 10 specimens ; Royal Mint col-
lection.

✠DEREMAN R : ON : LV : ✠hENRIEV 255

Royal Mint collection.

✠DEREMANR : ON : LVN ✠hENRIEVS : 255

W. J. Andrew.

. . . . AMANR : ON LV NRIEVS : 255

British Museum.

✠DERMANR : ON LVND ✠h . . RIEVS 255

Watford find ; Nottingham Castle.

✠DEREMAN : ON : LVN ✠hENRIEVS 255

Watford find, 13 specimens ; Royal Mint collection, 3 specimens ; British Museum, from the Banks collection ; Spink and Son ; W. J. Andrew. There are numerous specimens bearing this legend.

✠DEREMA . ON LVN ✠hENRIEVS 255

Sir John Evans ; L. A. Lawrence, 21½ grs.
From Lord Londesborough's collection.

✠EDPINE ON ✠LVNDEN hENRI 258

P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton. **Pl. VIII, No. 10.**
Obverse, between the head and sceptre two quatrefoils. Reverse, ✠LVNDEN in the inner circle. EDPI occurs on London coins of the Williams.

✠ESTMIER ON LVNI 251

Ferguson Sale, 1851.

✠EASTMVND : ON LVN ✠hENRIEVS 255

Watford find, 4 specimens; Christmas, 1864,
Boyne, 1896, Montagu, 1888, Sales.

✠ESTMVND ON LVN ✠hENRIEVS 255

Watford find, 6 specimens. Estmund continued to coin in Stephen's reign and was probably the Estmund, citizen of London, in the 1137 charter (Commune of London, 100). The name occurs on the Confessor's coins of this mint.

✠ESTMVND ON LVND ✠hENRIEVS R 255

Watford find; Pembroke Sale, 1848, £3 4s. 0d.;
Bird Sale, 1854.

✠ESTMVND : ON : LVND : ✠h . NRIE . . 255

Royal Mint collection; G. Deakin.

✠ESTMVND : ON : LVN ✠hENR 255

British Museum. From Mr. Rashleigh.

✠EST ON LVN ✠hENRIEV : 255

J. Verity.

✠GILEBERD ON .VN ✠hENRIEVS 255

Watford find, 2 specimens. It is very possible that the moneyer was the Gilbert Becket, citizen of London and father of the Archbishop, mentioned in the 1137 charter (Commune of London, 101).

✠GIL ON . . ND 255

Kennard Sale, 1892. Said to be from the Linton find.

✠[6OD] RIL : ON [: SVD]PE ✠hENR 262

F. Spicer. The name constantly occurs on London and Southwark coins.

✠6ODRIE : ON : LVNDEN : ✠hENRIEVS : 255

Watford find, 8 specimens.

✠6ODRIE ON LVND ✠hENRIEVS 255

Lincoln and Son.

✠6O—————LVND 255

Wakeford, 1879, and Montagu, 1897, Sales, from the Linton find. A halfpenny.

✠6ODRIE : ON : LVN : ✠hENRI6V 255

Royal Mint collection ; Lincoln and Son.

✠6OD . . 6 : ON : LVNDE ✠hEN . . . VS 255

J. Verity. From the Allen Sale, 1898.

✠6ODRIE ON LVN ✠hENR6VS 255

Watford find. As to the use of 6 for C refer to page 97.

✠6ODRIEVS : ON : LVN ✠hENRIEV : 255

Watford find, 3 specimens ; Lincoln and Son. Godric continued to coin for Stephen and

the name frequently occurs on Saxon and Norman coins of London.

✠GODPINE ON LVN ✠HNRI R AN 251

Engraved Withy and Ryall, ii. 3; and Ruding, Sup., i. 2, 2. Godwine coined under the two Williams, but the name is a common one on Saxon coins of London and elsewhere.

✠GODPINE : ON : SVDPE ✠hENRI REX 252

P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton. From the Allen Sale, 1898, and Shillington find.

✠GODPINE : ON : LVND ✠hENRIEVS R 262

W. C. Boyd, 20 grs., from the Milford Haven find. Mr. Boyd supplied most of the information of this hoard. The moneyer was probably son of the above.

✠GODPINE : .. LVNDEN ✠hENR ... S RE : 262

Watford find.

✠GODPINE ... NDEN ... NRIEVS 255

Royal Mint collection.

✠GODPINE 6V : ON NRIEVS 255

J. Verity. From the Allen Sale, 1898. As to this moneyer, see page 283.

[✠h]AMVND : ON : LVND ✠hENRIEVS 255

Watford find. Hamund coined here for Stephen.

✠HEAIAMAN : ON LVN ? 267

Bari find. Sir John Evans queries this reading, and the form H is evidently incorrect. It may represent BLAIAMAN, but a Huneman, citizen of London, witnesses the 1187 charter of Geoffrey de Mandeville (Commune of London, 101).

✠LIFPINE ON SV . . ER ✠HENRIEVS RE 251

L. A. Lawrence. Lifwine coined also at London for Rufus, and at Southwark for the Conqueror.

✠LIFPINE ON SVDEP 251

Warne Sale, 1889.

✠LIFPNE . . SVDE ✠HENRI RE 254

British Museum. Engraved Hawkins, 354.

✠L . FPINE : ON : SVT ✠HENRI REX 256

British Museum. Pl. III, No. 5. Engraved (Reverse) *N. C.*, x. p. 21, No. 9 and Ruding, i. 14. In the latter instance the engraver has erroneously assumed the moneyer's name to be SEPINE.

✠LEFPIN ON SVD : ✠HENRIE REX 257

Hunterian Museum, Glasgow University. Pl. III, No. 8.

✠[L]EFPINVS ON : SVT ✠HENRI RE 266

British Museum.

✠LEFPINE ON SVD ✠HENRIEVS 264

British Museum. From the Marsham, 1888, and Montagu, 1897, Sales.

✠LEPINE ON : SVTP : ✠hENRIEVS REX : IV
AN :

Spink and Son. **Pl. V, No. 9.** From the Whitbourn, 1869, £1, Marsham, 1888, £6, and Montagu, 1896, £4, Sales. Found in the Thames.

✠LEFPINE O ✠N SVTPVR hENR .. 258

Hunterian Museum, Glasgow University. **Pl. VI, No. 8.** Engraved Ruling, Sup. II. i. 8. Obverse, before the sceptre, two quatrefoils. Reverse, ✠N SVTPVR within the inner circle.

✠LEFPINE : ON : SVDPER : ✠hENRIEVS R 262

Watford find, 2 specimens ; British Museum.

✠LEFPINE ON SVD .. ✠hENRIEVS R 262

Sir John Evans ; Bergne Sale, 1873, £4 ; Marsham Sale, 1888, £6 5s. 0d.

✠LEFPINE : ON : S . DPE : ✠hENRIEVS : 262

Watford find.

✠LEFWIN ON . LVND : ✠hENRIEV 255

British Museum, 2 specimens, from Mr. Rashleigh. As to the removal of the Southwark moneyers to London in 1131, see page 286.

✠LEF ... ON LVN : ✠hE 255

Lincoln and Son.

✠LIFPORD ON SVDE ✠HNRI REX 251

J. S. Henderson. From the Blick, 1843, Bergne, 1873, £7 2s. 6d., Halliburton-Young,

1881, £5 10s. 0d., and Simpson Rostron, 1892, £7 10s. 0d., Sales. This moneyer coined for Rufus.

✠LEFPARD ON SV ✠hENRIE RE : 257

Engraved, Speed's Chronicle, 1611, p. 434 ; Withy and Ryall, ii. 12 ; Snelling, i. 21, and Ruding, Sup., i. 8. Sold, September, 1844, £7.

✠LEFRED : ON LVND ✠hENRIEVS 255

Watford find, 6 specimens ; British Museum, from Mr. Rasbleigh. The moneyer's name occurred here in Saxon times, and this moneyer continued to coin for Stephen.

✠LIFFRED : ON LVND : ✠hENRIEVS 255

Watford find.

✠LIEFRED ON LVND : ✠hENRIEVS 255

Watford find, 2 specimens ; Royal Mint collection.

[✠LIF]RED : ON : LVN ✠hENRIEV 255

Sir John Evans.

✠LIFRED : ON E ✠hENRIEV 255

Watford find.

ONTETF ONN LVN ? 267

Bari find. The reading is queried by Sir John Evans.

✠ORDGAR ON LVND ✠HNRI REX N 251

H. M. Reynolds, 21 grs. From the Henderson, 1888, and probably the Neville-Rolfe, 1882, Sales. The moneyer coined for Rufus.

✠ORDGAR ON LVND ✠HNRI REX N 251

British Museum. See variety (B) page 45.

✠ORDGAR ON LVND ✠HNRI REX I 251

Engraved Ruling i. 15. 22½ grs.

✠ORDGAR ON LVND ✠hENRIEVS R 265

J. Hall.

✠DEÐGAR : ON : LVNDE ✠hENRIEVS RE 262

Watford find. The moneyer's name is of course ORDGAR, as below, and the frequency of similar blunders to this is presumptive evidence that the die-sinkers used punches to form the letters of the legends. See DERIEVS for EDRIEVS, page 217.

✠ORD[GAR] ON [LV]ND ✠hEN[RI]EVS R 262

Watford find ; British Museum ; Hunterian Museum.

✠ORDGAR : ON : LVNDE : ✠hENRIEVS 255

Watford find, 10 specimens ; British Museum ; Royal Mint collection ; Sheriff Mackenzie ; R. M. Reynolds ; T. B. Winser ; J. Verity ; Montagu Sale, 1897. This is perhaps Ordgar the Prude, citizen of London, whose name occurs on several charters of this date (Commune of London, 98-106).

✠ORDGARVS ON LVND ✠HENRILVS 255

Watford find, 3 specimens; British Museum,
from Mr. Rashleigh.

✠OSEBERN : ON : LVN ✠HENRILVS 255

Watford find; British Museum.

✠OSEB : LVND ✠h . NB . . VS 255

W. J. Andrew.

✠OS ON LVNDE : ✠HENRILVS 255

Lincoln and Son.

✠OSBERN ON LVND ✠HENRILVS 255

Watford find, 3 specimens.

✠OSBERD : ON : LVNDE ✠HENRILVS 255

Dartford find, 4 specimens, 21 $\frac{3}{4}$ grs.

✠RAVLVS ON LV ✠HENRI RE 253

Late A. E. Packe. A Ralph fitz Algod was
a citizen of London in 1104 (Commune of
London, 102).

✠RAVFVS : ON LVNDE 267

Bari find.

✠RAPVLF : ON LVN . hENRILVS 264

P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton. Pl. IV, No. 11.

✠RABVLF : ON : LVNDE ✠HENRILVS : R : 265

T. Bliss. From the Cuff, 1854, £8,
Dymock, 1858, Murchison, 1864,

£7 7s. 0d., April, 1873, Brice and Montagu, 1886, £6 2s. 6d., collections.

✠RA . VLF : ON : LVNDE : ✠hENRIEVS R 265

British Museum; Norris Sale, 1868,
£3 15s. 0d.

✠RAPVLF ON LVNDEN : ✠hENR . . . S R : 262

T. Bliss. **PL VII, No. 5.** From the Milford Haven find. Obverse, a larger bust than usual. As to this moneyer see under Oxford, page 856.

✠RAP . . . ON LVNDE : ✠hENRIEVS : REX 262

Bodleian Library. 20½ grs. Engraved Ruding, Sup., ii., 2, 7. Only one other instance of this obverse legend occurs on type 262—namely on a Winchester coin. See page 465.

✠RAWLE O . LVNDE ✠hENRIEVS RE 262

Watford find, 2 specimens.

✠RAVLF ON LVNDE : ✠hENRIEVS R 262

British Museum. The name occurs on London coins of Stephen.

✠RAVF ON LVN : . hENRIEVS R : 262

Engraved Withy and Ryall, ii., 9.

✠RADVLVS : O . . . ✠hENRIEVS R : 262

J. Verity.

✠ROBERD : ON : L ✠hEN 255

Lincoln and Son. The moneyer continued to coin for Stephen.

✠ROGER ON LVNDE ✠hENRIEVS 255

Watford find, 8 specimens. The moneyer continued to coin for Stephen.

✠ROGIER : ON : L ✠hENRIEVS 255

Watford find.

✠ROGIR : ON : LVNDENE : ✠hENRIEVS 255

British Museum, from Mr. Rashleigh; Royal Mint collection; late A. E. Packe; Spink and Son.

✠SIGAR ON LVNDE ✠hENRI REX 252

F. G. Lawrence, 20½ grs.; Allen Sale, 1898, 2 specimens from the Shillington find.

✠SIGAR ON LVNDE ✠hENRI REX 252

University College, Cambridge. From a cast supplied by Mr. Francis Jenkinson.

✠SIGHER ON : LVNDEN 267

Bari find.

✠SIGAR ON . LVNDENE ✠hENRIE RE 266

Hunterian Museum, Glasgow University.
Pl. IV, No. 7. Engraved Withy and Ryall
ii., 6; Snelling, i., 17; Ruding, ii., 7.

✠SIGARVS ON LVND ✠hENRI RE 266

British Museum. Pl. IV, No. 5. From the
Montagu Sale, 1896, £6 12s. 6d.

✠SIGAR : ON : LVNDE : ✠hENRIEVS R : 264

J. Murdoch. Pl. IV, No. 9.

✠SIGhAR · ON LVND : ✠hENRI REX 263

British Museum. Pl. V, No. 5; Fig. N, p. 70.
Engraved, Hawkins, 263.

.... AR ON LVND . hE X AN IV

L. A. Lawrence; Wakeford Sale, 1879; but
possibly ALGAR.

✠SIGAR .. LVND ✠hENE. ... A IV

British Museum.

✠SIGAR ON : LVNDEN ✠hENRIEVS R 265

British Museum. Probably the Tyssen,
1802, coin.

✠SIGAR hENR D : ✠hENRIE ✠SIGAR 265

Montagu Sale, 1897. This curious legend is
merely the effect of the planchet having
been twice struck, but turned over between
times.

✠SIGAR ON LVNDEN : ✠hENRIEVS R 262

Watford find, 2 specimens.

✠SIGAR ON LVNDEN ✠hENRIEVS : R 262

Watford find, 2 specimens; British Museum,
2 specimens.

✠SMIEPINE ON LVN ✠HNRIEVS REX 251

British Museum. The family were Saxon moneyers at Guildford, and, with that of Blacman, probably migrated to London on the discontinuance of the former mint.

✠SMIEPINE ON LV ✠HENRI RE ANL 251

Bodleian Library.

✠SMEPINE NDE ✠hENR 257

Spink and Son. **Pl. III, No. 10.** From the Marsham, 1888, and Montagu, 1896, Sales.

✠SMÆPIN : ON : LVNDE : ✠hENRIEVS : 255

J. S. Henderson. **Pl. VII, No. 10.** From the Marsham, 1888, and Montagu, 1896, £6, Sales. This moneyer continued to coin for Stephen and was probably son of the above.

✠SMÆPIN ON LVN ✠hENRIEVS 255

Watford find, 2 specimens; late J. Toplis; Christmas Sale, 1864.

✠SMEPINE ON LVND ✠hENRIEVS : R 255

Watford find, 2 specimens; L. A. Lawrence; Taylor Sale, 1855; Neville-Rolf Sale, 1882.

[✠S]PIRLI[N6] ON LVN 251

Late J. Toplis.

✠SPIRLING ON LVN ✠hENRI REX : 252

A. A. Banes, 21 grs.; E. T. Corfield; Lincoln and Son; Coventry Sale, 1884.

✠SPIRLI . . ON LVN . . . ENRI . REX : 252

P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton.

✠SPIRLIG ON LVND IV

Battle find.

✠SP . . . IG : ON LVN : ✠hENRIEVS : . . . : IV

J. Young.

✠SPERLIG : ON · LVND : ✠hENRIEVS R 265

British Museum.

✠SPERLIG ON : LVNDE : ✠hENRIEVS R 265

Hunterian Museum, Glasgow University.

✠S IG ON LVNDE ✠hENRIEVS R 265

Cotton Sale, 1889; Nunn Sale, 1896.

✠S[PERLI]NG : ON : LVNDE : ✠hENRIEVS R 265

J. Murdoch. As to this moneyer see page 283.

✠SPO[TR] ON SVÐEPI ✠IHRILSNIS REX 251

British Museum. The moneyer coined here
for Rufus as SPROT.

✠SVLTA ON LVNDE 257

Bari find. The moneyer is probably SPOTR.

✠SNOTR ON LVNDE ✠hENRIEVS R 264

Preston Sale, 1891. The moneyer is probably
SPOTR.

✠ Ð[EODR]IE ON LV[ND]EN ✠ hENRI REX 252

Lincoln and Son. As to this moneyer, see page 281.

✠ ÐEODRIG : ON : LVND : 267

Bari find. " ✠ ÐEODPIG " in the list of this find.

✠ ÐVRED ON LVNDENE 267

Bari find. The Theodred family were Saxon moneyers of London.

✠ ÐVRED : ON : LVNDOHE ✠ hENRIE · REX · 267

L. A. Lawrence, 17 grs. Pl. IV, No. 1. The variety (B) described on page 64.

✠ ÐORED : ON : LVNDONI ✠ hENRI REX 263

Hunterian Museum, Glasgow University.
Pl. V, No. 3.

✠ TOVI : ON LVNDENE ✠ hENRIEV 255

Watford find, 4 specimens; L. A. Lawrence, 22 grs.; F. E. Whelan, from the Wigan collection. The moneyer continued to coin for Stephen.

✠ TOVI : ON LVNDE ✠ hENRIEVS 255

Watford find, 6 specimens; British Museum, from Mr. Rashleigh.

✠ TOV . . . ND ✠ . . . RIEVS R 255

Watford find.

✠VLFRIVEN ON LVND ✠hENRIEVS 255

Watford find, 2 specimens; T. Bliss;
W. S. Ogden.

✠VLP . . . See ✠PVLPARD.

✠PILLELMVS ON LVN 255

Kennard Sale, 1892, 2 specimens. From the
Linton find, WILLELMVS in the catalogue.
The moneyer is possibly the William Travers,
citizen of London, of the 1137 charter
(Commune of Lond., 101), and see page 357.

✠PILLEM ✠hE . . IE . . 255

A. A. Banes.

✠PVLFPORD ON LVND 251

Egmont-Bieber Sale, 1889, £6 15s. 0d. From
the Shepherd Sale, 1885. The moneyer
coined for Rufus, and the name appears on
Saxon coins of London.

✠PVLFPORD ON LVN ✠HNRIEVS REX 251

Lord Pembroke's collection, 1750, sold 1848,
£11. Dymock, 1858, Murchison, 1864,
Taylor, 1874 Sales. 21 $\frac{17}{16}$ grs.

✠PVLFPORD ON LVN ✠HNRI REX I 251

Engraved Withy and Ryall, i. 1, but corrected
from "✠PALFORD."

✠PVLEPORD ON NE ✠HNRIEVS REX 251

British Museum. See page 318. From the
Southgate and Tyssen, 1802, collections.

As the period is too early for either Newark or Newcastle this must be intended for London, and the moneyer's name does not occur elsewhere. Even the E instead of F is again similarly used in PVLEPARD below. A somewhat parallel case is that of ✠EADPERD ON VNED on a London coin of Canute. The explanation, therefore, may be that the N in ON is intended also to be read as a monogram $\mathfrak{N} = LV$ (instead of the common \mathfrak{N} .) thus giving us LVNE. On Canute's coin the N would be \mathfrak{N} and so = ON LVNED.

✠PVL PARD : ON LVN : .hENRIEVS REX : IV

G. Deakin; Sale, May, 1891. This moneyer was probably son of the above.

✠VLP[ARD] ON : LVN : ✠hENRIEVS R IV

British Museum.

✠PVLF PARD : ON : LVND: ✠hENRIEVS RE 262

Watford find, 2 specimens.

✠[PV]LEPARD ON LVN ✠hENRIEVS RE 262

Watford find.

✠PVLF PARD ON LVND ✠hENRIEVS R : 262

British Museum; Christmas Sale, 1864.

..... PARD : ON : LVN ✠hENRIEVS R : 262

Spink and Son. From the Cuff, 1854,
£4 6s. 0d., Wigan, Neck and Webb, 1894,
£4 4s. 0d., collections.

✠PVLEFPINE ON LVN	✠hENRI REX	{ <i>Obv.</i> 257 <i>Rev.</i> 267
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Sheriff Mackenzie. The variety described and illustrated as **Fig. H** on page 60. The name occurs on London coins from the time of Ethelred II.

✠PVLEFPINE ON LVND	267
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Bari find.

✠PVLEFPINE ON LVND :	✠hENRI RE	263
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Spink and Son. **Pl. V. No. 2.** From the Bergne, 1873, £2, Simpson Rostron, 1892, £2 4s. 0d., and Montagu, 1896, £2 8s. 0d., Sales.

✠PVLEFPINE : ON : LVN	✠hENRIEVS R	255
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Bodleian Library. Probably engraved Withy and Ryall, i. 23. The moneyer was perhaps son of the above.

✠PVLEFPINE : ON : LVND	✠hENRIEVS	255
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Watford find, 4 specimens ; Sheriff Mackenzie ; W. C. Boyd, from the Wadsworth Sale, 1891 ; T. B. Winsor, 2 specimens ; E. K. Burstal.

✠PVLEFPIN : ON : LVND	✠hENRIEVS	255
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Watford find, 8 specimens.

✠PVLEFPIN : ON : LVN :	✠hENRIEVS	255
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British Museum ; Bodleian Library ; F. G. Laurence, 22 grs.

✠FVLF6AR ON LVNI 257

Bari find. The family of this name had coined here or at Southwark since the time of Canute. A Hugh, son of Wulfgar, was a citizen of London, 1125-1137 (Commune of Lond., 102).

✠PVLF6AR ON : LVNDE : ✠hEVRRI REX 267

British Museum. Pl. VIII. No. 7. The variety (D) described on page 64.

✠PVL6AR : ON : LVN : ✠hENRIEVS REX IV

P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton. Pl. VIII. No. 9.

✠PVL6AR ON LVNDE 265

Sale, 1842.

✠PVL6AR ON LVNDE · ✠hENRIEVS R 265

British Museum.

✠PVL6AR ON LVNDEN : ✠hENRIEVS RE 262

Watford find; British Museum, from Mr. Rashleigh.

✠PVL6AR : ON : LVNDE : ✠hENRIEVS R : 262

Watford find, 2 specimens; British Museum, 2 specimens; P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton, from the Boyne Sale, 1896; J. Verity; Sale, 1842; Cuff Sale, 1854, £4 6s. 0d.; Cureton Sale, 1859.

✠WVL6AR : ONLY DE : ✠hENRIE . S R 262

Watford find.

SPECIMENS UNDESCRIBED.

LONDON.

Tyssen, 1802, 3 specimens ; Phare, 1834 ; Harrower-		
Johnston, 1876, £3 12s. 0d. ; York Moore,		
1879, £2 3s. 0d., Sales		251
The variety described as (A) on page 48	{ Obverse	254
	{ Reverse	251
Bentham Sale, 1834		253
Allen, 1898 ; Shepherd, 1888, £4 10s. 0d., Sales .		252
Tyssen Sale, 1802		263
” ”		258
” ” 2 specimens		265
” ” ; Bentham, 1834, £3 4s. 0d. .		255

SOUTHWARK.

Sale, June, 1901	265
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NE—NA.

NE.—Newark is claimed by Ruding (vol. i., p. 166 and vol. ii., p. 204-5) for this reading and he says :—

“ Alexander, who was Bishop of Lincoln from 1123, the twenty-third year of Henry I., to 1147, the twelfth year of Stephen, had a charter for coining money here. It is probable that this charter was granted by the former of these kings, for Stephen confirmed to the Bishop of Lincoln, Robert de Caysneto, one die for making money in his castle here [Newark]. This grant was pleaded by the Bishop in the third year of Edward III, when he was called upon to show by what right he claimed the privilege of coining. It seems that his plea was overruled, upon the ground that Stephen was not the lawful king, but an

intruder into the kingdom, and therefore had no power therein beyond the term of his natural life. *The original grant itself stood unimpeached.*"

The last words, here given in italics, are not supported by the authorities quoted by Ruding and are merely the author's own comment. If there had ever been a like grant from Henry I, the Bishop surely would have pleaded it and the result would have been different. Henry I certainly granted several charters to Alexander confirming his privileges over Newark as Bishop of Lincoln (see the Monasticon), but in none of these is there any reference to coinage, and therefore when we are told that the then Bishop in Edward III's time on being challenged upon a writ *quo warranto* to prove his ancient rights of coinage, alleged a grant from Stephen, we have no right whatever to throw it back to a previous reign, the more so as the Bishop actually lost his case from his inability to show a title from a king *de jure*. It is true that Stephen's grant is in a confirmation charter, but that would follow as a matter of course, as his original grant must have been to Bishop Alexander, probably early in his reign. The following is the authority for the facts as we have them.

"Episcopus Linc. summonitus ad ostendendum quo warranto clamat &c. cuneum in castro suo de Newerk ad monetam faciendam 3. Ed. 3. Episcopus dicit quod S. quondam Rex Angliæ confirmavit Ecclesiæ Lincoln. & Roberto de Caysneto Episcopo unum cuneum apud Newerk. Et Willelmus de Denum qui sequitur pro Domino Rege, quoad prædictum cuneum dicit, quod cum Episcopus clamat cuneum illum per Cartam prædictam, S. quem idem Episcopus afferit fuisse Regem &c. cuneum illum eo titulo habere non potest. Dicit enim quod

prædictus S. intrusit se in prædicto regno. Ita quod postea idem S. non habuit statum in regimine ejusdem regni nisi ad terminum vitæ suæ tantum &c. unde petit judicium, &c.” (Hearne’s *William of Newbury*, A.D. 1719.)

But the whole claim rests on the reading of a single coin—viz. †PVLEPORD ON NE of type 251—a type issued long before the date of Bishop Alexander’s installation—and that coin, as we have already seen on pages 312-13, is really of the London mint.

NA.—In the Watford find, the legends †SWETMAN: ON : NA and †SWETMAN ON . . . R occurred on type 255 and, following the same line of reasoning which appropriated NE to London, see page 313, these coins should be given to Oxford as contractions of ON OXNAFORD, the ON standing in a double capacity for ON and OX; just as the N in ON serves for the N of NORPIC in Henry’s early types of that mint. The name Swetman occurs on the Oxford coins of William I, and also in Domesday as *monetarius* of that city.

NORTHAMPTON.

NORTHAMTUNE, NORTHANTUNE, NORHANTUNE, NORTHANTONA;
Domesday, NORTHANTONE and HANTONE; Pipe Roll,
NORHANTONA.

Although Celtic and Roman remains abound in the immediate vicinity, the ancient town of Northampton does not seem to find its way into the pages of history until the ninth century, when it fell into the hands of the Danes, and for nearly fifty years remained in their

possession. In 922, however, it was recovered by Edward the Elder; but, although in 941 the garrison successfully resisted the siege of Anlaf, the Dane, in 1010 the burg was burnt to the ground. During the insurrection of the Northumbrians in 1065, "the northern men did much harm about Northampton . . . inasmuch as they slew men and burnt houses and corn, and took all the cattle they could get, and that was many thousand; and many hundred men they took and led northward with them; so that that shire, and the other shires which were nigh, were for many years the worse." (Sax. Chron.)

[For the history and devolution of the Earldom of Northampton see *ante*, under Huntingdon, pages 219-227.]

1086. Domesday notes.—"In the time of King Edward there were 60 burgesses in lordship of the King at Northampton, having the same number of houses. Of these houses, 14 are now laid waste. There are 47 remaining; in addition to these there are now 40 burgesses in the new burg." Details are given of the possessions of the various feudatories which raise the total number of houses within the burg to 316, of which, however, 35 are laid waste—no doubt owing to the raid of 1065. "The burgesses of [North] Hampton pay £30 10s. 0d. to the sheriff per annum; this represents the *firma* itself. The Countess Judith (see under Huntingdon, page 220) has £7 out of the returns of the same burg."

1106. The conference of King Henry and Robert of Normandy at Northampton. (Sax. Chron.)

1107 8. Foundation charter of St. Andrew's Priory; probably in the spring of 1108.

1122. The King held his Easter Court at Northampton. (Sax. Chron.)

1130. Pipe Roll notes.—The burg is separated from the usual county returns. Robert Revel [as sheriff], after paying £8 2s. 1d. for customary disbursements, and 20s. to the monks of Northampton, also 3 shillings and 8d. to the same monks "for their land which the

King took below his Castle," returns £90 14s. 3d. [balance] "of the *firma* of the burg of Northampton" [total, £100]. The burg also contributes £8 4s. 0d. as *auxilium*. Under the *Nova Placita* of the county Geoffrey "de Gunetorp" accounts for ten marks of silver on a Treasury plea.

1131. September 8. The great Council at Northampton, when Henry summoned all his Barons to take the oath of fealty to Matilda as heiress to the throne.

It is probable that in the early years of the Conqueror, Earl Waltheof had the privilege of a joint mint at Northampton and Huntingdon, but after his death, at least, its coinage seems to have been entirely confined to the latter town. The royal mint of Northampton was the creation of Henry I, and our coins of it tell us that its date of origin must have been about 1126-1128.

We have seen, under Huntingdon, pages 219-227, that upon his marriage in 1113 with Maud, widow of Earl Simon and daughter of Waltheof, David, Prince of Cumbria, received the Earldom of Huntingdon, and the custody of that of Northampton, in right of his wife. In 1124—to quote the Saxon Chronicler—"died Alexander, King of Scotland, on the 9th before the Kalends of May [*i.e.* April 23rd] and his brother David, then Earl of Northamptonshire, succeeded him and held at the same time both the Kingdom of Scotland and the English earldom." This would appear to be the last record in which King David is associated with the Earldom of Northampton. That he retained his Earldom of Huntingdon there can be no doubt, but whenever his English Earldom is subsequently referred to, it is that of Huntingdon alone. Even when he invaded England in 1138 his claim was to the government of Northumbria, the town of Carlisle and the Earldom of Huntingdon, so it is scarcely credible that he still retained any pretensions to the Earldom of Northamp-

ton. The inference, therefore, is that on his accession to the Scottish throne in 1124, the precedent of 1121 in the case of the Earldom of Chester (pages 140, 145 and 148) was followed, the joint earldom was severed, and he relinquished that of Northampton to the King. He was certainly not Earl of Northampton at the date of the Pipe Roll, and the *firma* of the burg was then paid direct to the Treasury, hence the change must have occurred between April 1124 and Michaelmas 1129. His first visit to England after his accession was in January, 1127, and as he would then pay homage as King of Scotland to Henry for his English Earldom, it may be assumed that he then surrendered Northampton and received a confirmation charter of the Earldom of Huntingdon alone.

But we have other evidence in support of this contention. The *firma* of the burg was £30 10s. 0d. at the date of Domesday, and yet in 1130 it was £100. At the latter date the burgesses had acquired the privilege of paying their *firma* through the sheriff of their burg instead of through the sheriff of the county, thus escaping the extortions of the then prevailing system of assessment: a privilege which seems only to have been acquired by such royal cities or burgs as London, Lincoln, and Carlisle. The castle, which had been founded by Earl Simon, now belongs to the King, and he has evidently been extending its fortifications. All these changes can only be explained by the fact that the King had recovered possession of the burg and had already granted a charter of privileges to its burgesses. He could not have granted it before April, 1124, when it was still in the possession of David, nor before the latter tendered his homage for his English possessions, and so its date may be assumed to have been January, 1127.

The history of Northampton is indeed almost identical at this period with that of Carlisle. In 1122 Henry held his Easter Court at Northampton and spent Michaelmas at Carlisle (Sim. of Durham). Just as Carlisle, in 1120, was surrendered to the King by Ralph de Meschines in exchange for a confirmation charter of the Earldom of Chester, and thus became a royal burg, so Northampton in 1127 was similarly surrendered by David in exchange for his confirmation charter of the Earldom of Huntingdon. Charters of privileges to the burgesses immediately followed in both cases. In 1129 a royal mint was established at Carlisle, and in January, 1127, it is contended, a royal mint was established at Northampton; probably by the charter of privileges itself.

We have ample evidence that Northampton was a royal mint, for, according to the Pipe Rolls of subsequent reigns, the moneyers contributed £10 towards the *auxilium* for marrying Henry II's daughter, Maud, and a *firma* of £3. The mint or its moneyers "in the burg of Northampton" is frequently mentioned, and, finally, in 1189 Richard I, in his charter to the burgesses, confirms their privileges in identical language and with the same exception as in his charter to London (pages 276 and 284), viz., "that none shall plead without the walls of the burg of Northampton upon any plea, save pleas of outholdings, except our moneyers and officers" (see Records of the Borough of Northampton). As, therefore, Richard's charter to London confirmed Henry I's charter to the city almost word for word, it may be assumed that his charter to Northampton similarly confirmed that of January, 1127. The more so as the mint of Northampton was instituted in that year.

The first type in evidence is that of 265 (1126-1128),

and as yet, the name of one moneyer, only, seems forthcoming upon it. But on the following type, 262 (1129-1131), when the mint had come into full operation, two names appear, viz., that of the original moneyer and of one GEFFRE. In GEFFRE we have the Geoffrey de Gunetorpe, who in 1129-30 is fined 10 marks of silver on a Treasury plea, presumably for some offence committed by his subordinates in charge of the mint. Gunetorpe, *i.e.*, Gunthorpe, is near Oakham; and there, no doubt, was the royal moneyer's feu. Having been fined, his office was as usual forfeited, and his name is absent from the subsequent type. Type 255 (1131-1135), on which the number of moneyers is further increased to three, follows, thus giving us a complete series from January, 1127, to the close of the reign.

The mint of Northampton was continued until the reign of Henry III.

It has not escaped observation that Hantone occurs, in one instance, in Domesday as the name of this town, and that every known type of the coins of Henry I reading ON HAMTVN, etc., and assigned to Southampton, exactly corresponds as to date with the presence in England of Earl Simon and Earl David respectively, also that the name PAIEN is found as a moneyer upon some of them. But in view of the general consension of opinion that the mint of Hampton, established by Athelstan's Law, was at the southern town, of the absence of any break in the coinage when the latter mint may be said to have been discontinued and that of Northampton commenced, and of the record of a coin of William I reading NORHAM at the very time when the name, according to Domesday, was already in transition, the weight of evidence is not, as yet, deemed sufficient to outweigh the claims of Southampton to a Norman mint.

COINS.

✠GEFFRE[I] : ON : NORhA : ✠h . . RIEVS R . 262

P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton. As to this moneyer,
see before.

✠GEFFRE[I] ON : NORhA : ✠hENRIEV RE 262

British Museum.

✠PAIEN : ON : NORhAM ✠hENRIEV 255

Clarkson Sale, 1901 ; Allen Sale, 1898 ; Sale,
April, 1864. This moneyer was probably
Geoffrey's successor, and may possibly have
been the Payn de Hocton (? Houghton, 2½
miles from Northampton) who, about 1129,
married the widow of Edward of Salisbury
(Pipe Roll).

✠PAIEN : . N : NO . . AN . . ENRIEVS 255

Spink and Son.

✠PAIEN : ON NOR . N : . . ENRIEVS 255

W. C. Wells.

✠PAIEN ON NORhA : ✠hEN S 255

L. A. Lawrence ; Watford find.

✠PAIEN ON NORhAM ✠hENRIEV . 255

J. Verity.

✠[PAE]N : ON : NORhAM 255

Sir John Evans. As there is scarcely room
for PAIEN, the name has probably now
assumed its shortened form PAEN as in
Stephen's reign.

✠STIEFNES : ON [NOR]hA . . ENRIEVS R 265

Allen Sale, 1898, photographed in the catalogue.

✠STIEFNES ON, 265

Cuff Sale, 1854, £4 (corrected).

✠STIEFNES ON A 265

Sale, January, 1860.

[✠ST]IFNE : ON : NOR[hA :] [✠hENRIE]VS R 262

Watford find.

✠STIFNE : ON . . . ✠hE . RIIEVS 255

Watford find. This moneyer's name only
occurs elsewhere at Winchester.

✠STIF ✠hENRIE 255

Fitz-William Museum, Cambridge; Royal Mint
collection.

✠S[T]EPHAN ✠[hE]NRIE 255

Watford find.

✠PVL . . OD : ON : NOR[h]A . hENRIEVS 255

Watford find. The moneyer's name was
probably PVLNOD.

✠W ON : NORhA ✠h EVS : 255

British Museum; Sale, 1842.

. ON NORHA :

✠HENRIEVS

255

British Museum; Watford find, 2 specimens.

The coins formerly attributed to this mint bearing the moneyer's name OSWEF, OSVEF or VSVEF, of Northampton, have been exposed by Mr. L. A. Lawrence, in *Num. Chron.*, III., x. p. 42-47, and, as he demonstrates, are all false.

NORWICH (NORFOLK).

NORTHWIC, NORDWIC, NORDOVICUM; Domesday and Pipe Roll,
NORWIC.

Although there are many indications that the immediate vicinity to Norwich was the centre of a considerable population in Celtic, Roman, and British times, the name of the town itself does not enter the pages of our English chronicles until a comparatively late period. In 1004 the Danes, under Sweyn, sacked and burnt the burg; but it must have soon recovered, for in the reign of the Confessor Norwich boasted one of the largest populations in the country.

1075. The conspiracy and fall of Ralph de Guader, Earl of East Anglia (see pp. 220 and 230). The Earl fled abroad and his estates were confiscated, but his wife defended Norwich against the King "until she obtained terms." (*Sax. Chron.*) The town suffered considerably during the siege, as is evidenced in Domesday.

1075-6. Hubert de Rye appointed Castellan of the "Tower of Norwich."

1082. Roger Bigod appointed King's Castellan of Norwich. [For the history of this family, see under Ipswich, pages 228-236.]

1086. Domesday notes.—In Norwich there were, in the time of King Edward, 1,320 burgesses, of whom 1,230 rendered *soca* and *saka* and paid customs to the King. Now there are in the burg 665 English burgesses who pay customs and 480 bondsmen [who had evidently lost their freedom during the revolt of Earl Ralph and had been reduced to serfdom] too impoverished to pay. About 100 houses have been destroyed for the site of the Castle, and there are no fewer than 190 vacated in the burg. Many additional details are given, including the names of various feudatories who also held houses within the burg. The whole town in the time of the Confessor paid £20 to the King and £10 to the Earl; also certain customs, including a bear and six dogs to bait it. Now it pays £70 by weight to the King and 100 shillings by number as bounty to the Queen, and one goshawk and £20 blanchied to the Earl and 20 shillings by number as a fine to Godric [the sheriff]. In this burg, if he wishes, the Bishop [of the See of East Anglia, then located at Thetford but afterwards at Norwich] is allowed to have one moneyer.

The Normans of Norwich. In the new burg there were 36 burgesses and six English, from whom the King had two parts and the Earl the third; now there are 41 in lordship to the King and Roger Bigod has 50, and others are under various feudatories.

1094. Herbert, Bishop of East Anglia, "transferred the seat of his bishopric [from Thetford] to a town celebrated as a place of trade and general mart called Norwich, and founded there a monastery." (Florence.)

1119. July 22. Death of Bishop Herbert. (Florence.)

1121. March. Everard, Chaplain to the King, is appointed Bishop and consecrated June 12th. (Florence.)

December 25. The King holds his Christmas Court at Norwich (Sax. Chron.), and is said to have granted a charter to the citizens extending their privileges.

1130. Pipe Roll notes.—Edstan de Gernemuda [Yarmouth] accounts for twenty-three shillings and four pence on a Treasury plea, and Siverd de Gernemuda and Amund de Gernemuda similarly for ten shillings each. Edstan owes one hundred shillings for [his fees on his succession to] the personal effects of Ulchetel the moneyer. The city of Norwich contributes £30 in *auxilium*, but one hundred shillings

of it are remitted to the burgesses by the King's writ. The Bishop of Ely accounts for £500 that his knights might keep Castle Guard in the Isle of Ely instead of at Norwich Castle. [This is evidently the consideration for the well-known charter to that effect.]

During the eighth and ninth centuries the Kings of East Anglia issued a considerable coinage, and as there seems every reason to assume that the moneyers were at that time attached to the King's Court, some of it, at least, would probably be issued at Norwich.

The known coinage of Norwich commences in the reign of Athelstan, and was continued under every succeeding Saxon King. The mint was one of the most prolific in the country and a royal mint throughout its existence. At the date of Domesday its *firma*, as at Huntingdon, Dorchester, and other towns, was evidently included in that of the burgesses, and it is expressly stipulated that the Bishop of East Anglia was entitled to one of its moneyers when he wished. It will be noticed in Domesday that out of the *firma* of the burg, 100 shillings are reserved to the Queen and £20 to the Earl. At that date there was neither Queen nor Earl, but, as explained in the case of Dover, page 175, these sums would be received by the King. It will presently be suggested that the item of 100 shillings so paid "*de Gersuma Reginae*" was, in fact, the actual *firma* of the mint, or, at least, its contribution to the common *firma* of the burg. We know from charters of Henry II and Richard I that Norwich was a royal mint—and there is no evidence as yet forthcoming that the Bishop ever exercised his privilege of a moneyer in it.

As a royal mint, leased to the citizens, one would naturally expect to find a complete series of types issued from it, but in the reign of Henry I this is not quite the

case. From the commencement of the reign to the year 1114, with the exception of one—256 (1108-1110)—all the types are represented on our coins, viz., 251, 254, 253, 252 (1100-1108), 257 and 267 (1110-1114). But now, for seven years, there is a gap in the coinage of Norwich, for types 266, 264, and 263, are absent. It may be that accident may yet disclose specimens of them, but when we notice the coincidences that at the very date of the previously missing type 256 (1108-1110) Queen Matilda was upon her only journey to Normandy and witnessed Henry's charter to the Priory of St. Faith, Longueville, at Rouen (*Documents in France*), and that after the marriage of her daughter in 1114 she retired into what was practically a conventual life at Westminster until her death on May 1st, 1118, it would seem as if the mint of Norwich was her privilege and under her immediate control. Domesday reserved 100 shillings out of the *firma* of the burg to the Queen of England, and, in 1129-1130, 100 shillings was, as will be submitted upon the evidence of the Pipe Roll, the then *firma* of the mint. Hence, when to these reasons is added the coincidence of the absence of Queen Adeliza in Normandy during 1128-9, when the mint was again closed, there would appear to be reasonable ground for suspicion, at least, that the mint of Norwich and its *firma* were amongst the perquisites of the Queen Consort for the time being, in very much the same manner as similar privileges were held by the Norman Earls.

On January 29th, 1121, King Henry married Adeliza of Louvain, and the mint is in consequence reopened by the citizens in type IV (1121-1123). This is followed in succession by types 258 and 265 (1123-1128). In 1128 Queen Adeliza was in Normandy, no doubt to attend

her step-daughter, Matilda's, marriage, for in September, at the very date when type 262 was issued in England, she was present at the great synod at Rouen. This is proved by the charter to Savigny Abbey which she witnessed, and which, in *Documents in France*, Mr. Round dates 1124-1133. But as it is also witnessed by King Henry; John, Bishop of Lisieux; Richard, Bishop of Bayeux; John, Bishop of Saies; and Turgis, Bishop of Avranches, all of whom are mentioned by Orderic as being present at the synod, there can be no doubt that it was granted upon that occasion and that its specific date was therefore September, 1128. This may, therefore, account for the curious absence of any coins of type 262 (1128-1131) from the Norwich mint; curious, because on that type appear the names of more towns than upon any other in Henry's series. Adeliza doubtless returned to England during its currency, that is, before, perhaps, in July, 1129, and, therefore, it is not improbable that some coins of it, struck at Norwich, may yet be found; but all those hitherto attributed to this mint have, upon examination, proved to belong to Northampton, and so, for the present at least, the negatory evidence prevails.

The apparent absence of type 262 (1128-1131) is another of these remarkable coincidences between the records of the Pipe Roll of 1129-30 and the evidence of our coins. On page 171 it has been shown that the *firma* of the mint of Dorchester was 40s. at the date of Domesday, and that when the mint was closed in 1129-30, the Pipe Roll records that out of the *auxilium* of that town 40s. was remitted to the burgesses. Similar instances occur at Colchester, Oxford, Tamworth, Thetford, and Wallingford. When, therefore, we read in the same Roll, and in identical language, that in 1129-1130, out of the *auxilium*

of Norwich 100 shillings were remitted to the burgesses, we may fairly assume that not only was the item of 100 shillings the *firma* of the mint, but that the mint was also closed during that particular year, and, when coupled with the fact of the rarity of the current type, 262, this assumption almost approaches a certainty.

The entries in the 1130 Pipe Roll concerning the three men of Yarmouth probably relate to a fine for short weight in their returns for the *firma* of that town, as it never had a mint. But the item "Edstan owes one hundred shillings for the personal effects ["de pecunia," see page 179] of Ulchetel the moneyer," directly concerns two moneyers of Norwich. Ulchetel was the VLFEHITEL on type 265 (1126-1128), and as his name does not again occur, we may assume that he died in 1128 or 1129. Edstan is the EDSTAN whose name appears on type 255 as soon as the mint reopens in 1131. At Hereford, Domesday tells us, that "in case of the death of a moneyer of the King, the King had a duty of 20s., but if a moneyer died intestate, the King had all his effects." So probably Ulchetel died intestate, and Edstan his heir redeemed "all his effects" for 100s. Further, Ulchetel's is the only moneyer's name which appears on the previous type, 265 (1126-1128) and what Edstan pays for succeeding to his personal effects—and office—is exactly equal to one year's *firma* of the mint. The mint may, perhaps, have been closed in 1129-1130 in consequence of the death of its moneyer, Ulchetel.

This suggests another probable pedigree. Domesday refers to an Edstan of Norwich who seems to have been in the position of an official of Edward the Confessor. He is followed, presumably, by his son Ulchetel, who held lands in Norfolk in 1086 (Domesday), and was probably the

VLFOTEL whose name appears on the Norwich coins of the Williams; and he again by his son ETSTAN, who coins in nearly all Henry's types between 1104 and 1125. He could scarcely be the EDSTAN of the Roll and of type 255, as that form of the name is continued upon Norwich coins until about the year 1150. It is probable, therefore, that ETSTAN disappeared at the date of the great Inquisition of the Moneyers of Christmas, 1125, leaving two sons, the VLCHETEL and EDSTAN referred to in the Pipe Roll.

From the commencement of Henry's reign to the year 1130, after allowing for changes during the currency of a type, the usual number of moneyers coining at Norwich has evidently been two, although at times only one but now, when the mint is reopened with type 255 (1131-1135) that number is raised to at least six. It will be remembered that a similarly remarkable increase occurred in the same type at London, page 283, when, after making ample allowance for the inclusion of the Southwark moneyers, the number was doubled. The explanation of the sudden increase at London was the King's charter of privileges to the citizens, and so the same cause must be looked for at Norwich. All Norfolk historians are agreed that Henry I granted a charter to Norwich, and they very naturally have assigned its date to the occasion when he held his Court there in 1121-2, for at the time they wrote, the London charter was believed to have been granted in 1101. The evidence of the charter, assuming that it is not extant, rests on one of Henry II confirming it, which recites that the citizens of Norwich had the same privileges as the citizens of London, therefore it must have been either contemporary with or subsequent to the London charter, which, as we have seen, was granted between Michaelmas, 1129,

and Michaelmas 1131. The 1130 Pipe Roll also proves that the citizens of Norwich did not then hold their city under any charter similar to that of London, and yet that their charter was identical is also proved by its confirmation by Richard I, which is almost word for word the same as his confirmation charter to London.

It is not essential to the story of the Norwich mint that 1121-2 should be proved to be an error for the presumed date, but the evidence of the coins themselves very strongly suggests that the date was 1130—1131 (Michaelmas), and very probably the charter was granted at the Court held at Northampton on September 8th, 1131. Richard I's charter confirms the privilege to the citizens of only having to plead within their walls, but, as at London, excepts from it "my moneyers and officers," hence the original charter, as was the effect of that to the metropolis, probably included the mint and the moneyers in the grant to the citizens. By it, the status of the citizens was changed from that of being mere lessees of a mint, subject to a restricted number of moneyers, to that of absolute ownership, as explained in the case of London, and so they immediately revived the mint, doubled the number of moneyers, and so far as we can judge, issued a prolific coinage, for it was to their obvious advantage to turn it to as much profit as they possibly could. Queen Adeliza would no doubt join in the charter in consequence of her rights in the *firma*, and afterwards, as Richard's charter implies, the mint of Norwich probably regained its strictly royal character.

Ruding, vol. ii. p. 200, quotes a record of the discovery of coins of Henry I, whilst the walls of Norwich were being rebuilt or extended, in the reign of Edward II, and that "one pound of silver of that money was more

in value by three pence, or three pennyweights, than a pound of the then current coin." They were most likely of type 255 (1131-1135), the last type of Henry, and buried during the disturbances at Norwich early in Stephen's reign. In any case they must have been later in date than 1125 or they would not have averaged even equally in weight to "the then current coin."

The mint was continued in every reign until the accession of Edward I, and in later times it was revived on one or two occasions.

COINS.

✠ALDENA ON NOR . hENRI REX 252

British Museum. Alden—from which we have Halden and Haldane—occurs in Domesday as "Godwin-Halden," who held lands in Norfolk. GODPINE coined at Norwich for William I-II.

✠AILPI : ON : NORP ✠hENRIEVS 255

Watford find, 5 specimens; British Museum. Ailwi continued to coin in Stephen's reign.

✠BALD[PINE] ON NOR . hENRIEVS 255

Watford find. This moneyer seems to have been removed to Thetford in the following reign.

✠[BALD]PINE ON NO . ✠hENRIEVS 255

Benwell Sale, 1849.

✠EOE : ON : NORWIE . hENRIEVS R 255

Engraved Withy and Ryall, ii. 24 (corrected)

from EOL); British Museum; J. Verity, from the Boyne Sale, 1896. This name occurs in Domesday under Kent.

✠. OE : ON : NORWIL . . hENRIEVS 255

Engraved Ruding, ii. 6.

✠TOE . . NORWIL ✠hENRIEV 255

F. A. Walters. The T is of course the die-sinker's error for L, and it is interesting inasmuch as it curiously supports the contention on page 28 that written instructions for the desired legends were supplied from the local mints to the *Aurifaber* at London, as, in the ordinary Court-hand of the day, there was so little distinction between the **t** = C and the **t** = T that the *lapsus calami* is readily apparent. This explanation should be the key to some of our unintelligible or blundered legends—see also page 338.

✠EDWINE ON NOR. IE ✠hENRIEVS 255

Watford find, 2 specimens; British Museum; Lincoln and Son. The moneyer continued to coin for Stephen.

✠ETSTAN O N[O]R[P]IL ✠hENRI REX A 253

Engraved Withy and Ryall, ii. 13, but the reverse legend is corrected from ✠ETVRI O NBIL. [Compare the similar instance of BISES on the same plate, explained on page 117.] On the Norwich coins of William I and II it was the rule, rather than the exception, for the N in ON to serve also for the N in the name of the mint, a custom continued on the early types only of this reign. As to this moneyer, see before.

✠ETSTAN ON NOR 257

Phare Sale, 1834, corrected ; Sale, November, 1847.

✠ETSTAN ON NOR 257

Sale, 1847.

[✠E]TSTAN . N N . . 267

Bari find.

✠ETSTAN : ON : NO . ✠hENRIE . . . X : IV

L. A. Lawrence. Obverse, a quatrefoil over the right shoulder, as Ruding, Sup. ii. 2, 6. Reverse, pellets in the angles of the cross as also on that illustration.

✠ETSTAN : ON : NORP ✠hENRIEVS REX AN IV

British Museum. Pl. V., No. 10. From the Marsham, 1888, and Montagu, 1897, Sales.

✠ETSTAN : ON . . . IV

Bindon-Blood Sale, 1856 ; Whitbourn Sale, 1869.

✠ETSTAN O✠N NORPIE hENRI 258

A. Peckover. Pl. VI, No. 5. Obverse, two quatrefoils before the sceptre. Reverse, ✠N NOEPIE in the inner circle. Found in ballast which had been brought from Peterborough.

✠EDST[AN] ON NOR . ✠hENRIEVS 255

L. A. Lawrence ; 22 grs. As to this moneyer, see above. The missing letters are supplied from numerous readings on coins of the same moneyer in the following reign.

✠FRELINE ON NOR ✠HENRI RE 254

L. A. Lawrence. From the Durden Sale, 1892.

✠HOPORD O NORÐI ✠HNRI . . . 251

T. Bliss. Engraved *Num. Chron.*, 1881, Pl. III., No. 1. From the Nottingham find, 1881, and the Toplis and Montagu collections. A HOPORD, probably this moneyer's father, coined here for William I. The ducal house of Howard is descended from William Howard, of Wigenhall, Norfolk, who rose to be Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in 1297, and who, probably because of the similarity of the name Howard to Hereward, was by the inventive genius of the sixteenth-century heralds, followed to-day by Burke, claimed as a descendant of Hereward the Wake. But the existence of Howords as royal moneyers of Norwich in the reigns of William I and Henry I now tells us the true origin and important status of the family at the date of the Conquest.

✠IHOPORD NORÐL✠ ✠HENRI REX 254

S. Smith. The reverse legend is evidently blundered, or, perhaps, twice struck, but ON is sometimes purposely omitted, see page 31, and the following coin.

✠HOPORD NORÐE ✠HENRI REX 254

E. T. Corfield. The O for ON is omitted.

✠HOPORD O NORÐPI ✠HENRI REX 253

B. Roth. From the Montagu, 1897, Sale, £2.

. D O NORÐPI 253

Bergne Sale, 1873.

✠OSB[ER]N ON NOR

✠HENRI RE . 252

P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton ; J. Verity. 21½ grs.,
from the Allen Sale, 1898. The name
appears at Thetford on coins of Ethelred II.
A Richard Fitz Osbern, probably the
RICARD on contemporary Norwich coins,
and son of this moneyer, held a fief from
Hugh Bigod in 1165.

. . . BERN ON NOR

253

Whitbourn Sale, 1869.

✠OTER : ON [NO]RPIL

. hENRI . . S 255

Watford find, 2 specimens. OTER appears
on Norwich coins of the Williams, and
OTERLhE on the first type of Stephen. The
latter form probably stands for the Saxon
Otercheld, *i.e.* Oter the *childe*, and means
either the eldest son of Oter = Oter junior,
or Oter the freeman or squire.

✠SIER O NORDPIT

✠HENRI REX EN 253

British Museum. Engraved Hawkins, 253.
The L and T in the reverse legend were
perhaps transposed in the punching of the
die, but see a similar error p. 335.

✠SIRET ON

✠HEN . . REX A IV

British Museum. This appropriation is doubtful.

✠SHITRIE : ON : NOR . .

✠HENRIEVS 255

Hunterian Museum, Glasgow University.
This moneyer coined also as SHITRIE and
SIHRIE for Stephen.

✠SVNSMAN : ON : NOR [✠hEN]RIEVS : 255

L. A. Lawrence, 22 grs.; Watford find. This moneyer coined as SVNFMAN for Stephen.

✠SVS . MAN ON NORP ✠hENRIEVS 255

Watford find, 3 specimens.

✠SV NORPI IEVS 255

Sir John Evans.

✠VLFEhITEL ON NOR ✠hENRIEVS R 265

Trinity College, Cambridge. Mr. F. Jenkinson has supplied the readings of the coins in the Cambridge Museums. As to this moneyer see before.

✠PILhEMAR ON NOR ✠hENRI REX 252

S. Smith; Loscombe Sale, 1855. The moneyer's name is probably a contraction for William fitz Hermer, or, as "William the man of Hermer [? de Ferrers]" held one house in Norwich in 1086, perhaps for "Wills ho Herm" as written in Domesday.

✠PVLFRIL

See under Nottingham, pages 350-51.

.. IPOÐ O NORÐP . ✠HENRI R . . 253

T. Bliss. Perhaps SIPOÐ or even HOPORD.

✠ NORPI ✠hEN 255

C. M. Crompton Roberts; Tyssen Sale, 1802; Benwell Sale, 1849; Brown Sale, 1869; Toplis Sale, 1890.

The coins of type 262 assigned by Hawkins to this mint are of Northampton.

NOTTINGHAM.

SNOTINGAHAM, SNOTTENGSHAM, SNODENGHAM, NOTTINGAMIA,
NOTINGEHAM; Domesday, SNOTINGEHAM; Pipe Roll,
NOTINGEHAM.

Nottingham, or, as its Saxon name implies, "the place of caves," first enters the pages of authentic history in the Chronicle of Ethelwerd under the year 868, when the Danes "measured out their camp in a place called Snotingaham, and there they passed the winter, and Burgred, King of the Mercians, with his nobles, consented to their remaining without opposition." According to the Saxon Chronicle, however, the invaders were besieged there by Burgred, assisted by King Ethelred and Alfred his brother, but without avail. In 922, Edward the Elder came with his forces to Nottingham and "took possession of the town, and commanded it to be repaired and occupied as well by English as by Danes," and in 924 he returned and commanded a burg to be built "on the south side of the river opposite the other and a bridge over the Trent between the two towns." As Bridgford, over the Trent, is mentioned in Domesday, it no doubt takes its name from this, one of the earliest, if not the earliest, of our recorded Anglo-Saxon bridges. But the town—now known as one of the five Danish burgs—fell into the hands of the Danes, and again, in 941, was retaken by the Saxons under King Edmund.

1067? The Castle [probably the Saxon burh] and County of Nottingham were committed to the custody of Ralph, son of Hubert de Rye. (Marianus.)

1068. "The King then built a Castle at Nottingham, which he committed to the custody of William Peverell." (Orderic.)

1086. Domesday notes.—In the time of King Edward there were in the burg of Nottingham 173 burgesses and 19 bondsmen. To this burg adjoined certain lands and woods. "These lands were partitioned amongst 38 burgesses, and from the land tax and services of the burgesses returned 75 shillings and 7 pence and from two moneyers 40 shillings. Therein Earl Tostig had 1 carucate of land, from which land the King had *soca*, the two denarii, and the Earl himself the third. When Hugh fitz Baldric the Sheriff came, there were still 136 men, but now there are 16 fewer. Yet Hugh himself built 13 houses on the land of the Earl, in the new burg, including them in the *firma* of the old burg. The Trent fisheries and navigation, the [Fosse] Road to York and the *fosse* of the burg are referred to in detail. In the time of King Edward Nottingham paid £18, now it pays £30 and £10 from the mint. William Peverell has 48 houses of merchants, 12 houses of horsemen [? Normans] and 8 bondsmen, and the King granted 10 acres of land to him to make the *pomerium*. [Not an orchard as hitherto rendered, but the right to clear the ground for the space of a bow-shot around the castle walls.]
- 1107-10. William Peverell witnesses the King's charter to St. Mary's, Bec, at Fishley, Norfolk. (Docs. in France.)
1108. January—May. Probable date of his foundation charter of Lenton Priory.
- 1108-10. He grants the church of Eyam to Lenton and witnesses the King's confirmation charter to Lenton and to Cluny Abbey. (Monasticon and Docs. in France.)
1109. October 16. The King held a Council at Nottingham Castle. (Charter to Durham.)
1111. At Reading witnesses Henry's Charter to Colne Priory. (Monasticon.)
1113. In Normandy witnesses Henry's charter to St. Evroul at Rouen Castle. (Docs. in France.)
1114. January. Death of William Peverell I.
1130. Pipe Roll notes.—William Peverell [II] of Nottingham accounts for £28 6s. 8d. for a plea of forestry pays £11 13s. 4d. and owes £11 13s. 4d. He receives the return of a plea of murder in the Riseclive [? Rushcliffe] "wapentake." The monks of Nottingham [? Lenton] are mentioned—also "Adelina [widow

of the first Peverell] as mother of William Peverell of Nottingham." "Osgot, priest of Duimfeld [? Duffield] owes 60 shillings on a plea of false pennies. Swein of the Gate (de Porta) owes 100 shillings on a plea of Ralph Basset" (the King's Justice).

1131. September 8. William Peverell witnesses the charter to Salisbury at the great Council at Northampton. (Monasticon.)

Whether the mint of Nottingham was established by Edward the Elder, when in 922 he rebuilt the town on its recovery from the Danes, it is difficult to say, for with one exception the names of the mints are omitted from his coins, but it was certainly in operation during the reign of his successor, Athelstan. Ethelred II's money also bears the name of this mint, and it was continued under his successors.

In the time of the Confessor we learn from Domesday that the mint was allowed two moneyers who paid 40s. between them, but in 1086 the Conqueror had increased their *firma* to £10. This evidences the fact that it was then a Royal mint, and as such its output was practically continuous.

There are few Norman baronial names so familiar to us as that of Peverell of Nottingham and the Peak, and yet when we weigh what information we have of the family it is remarkable that it should be so little. The writer has dealt elsewhere with this subject [British Archæological Association's Proceedings, 1899, p. 273], and it is sufficient here to say that the founder of the Nottingham and senior English branch of the family was William Peverell I, who was certainly not the natural son of the Conqueror, as we used to be told he was, although probably a relative and perhaps a son, or son-in-law, of Queen Matilda by her first marriage. From Domesday it

would appear that he held what was practically one-third of the burg, and although he did not then hold the *tertius denarius* of it, its subsequent grant to him might almost be expected to follow as a natural sequence. That he did obtain it we know, or at least have every reason to believe, but when, it is difficult to say. The Nottingham coinage during the reigns of the two Williams does not help us to arrive at the date, for the output is constant, and therefore, provided he remained in his lordship, it would make no difference to the numismatic evidence whether the mint retained its royal character or had been included in the grant of the town to him.

It is, however, noticeable that throughout the reigns of William I and II his name appears upon the charters as merely "William Peverell," but in that of Henry I the title "de Nottingham" is usually appended. This, coupled with the facts that immediately upon the accession of Henry the output of the mint assumes an intermittent character, and the number of moneys is throughout the reign reduced to one, strongly suggests that the town of Nottingham, including its mint, was granted to him upon that occasion. This, at least, is certain, that between the date of Domesday and that of the Lenton charter, 1108, the Trent fisheries, attached to the burg, had passed from the King to him, and that in 1152 the then Peverell held the burg and castle of Nottingham as his fee.

But where was William Peverell between the years 1100 and 1107? His name does not appear upon any of the English charters nor in the pages of the chroniclers during this period, or at least so far as an almost exhaustive search has disclosed. For the first time since its institution, if we may accept the negative evidence of the

absence of any coins of types 251, 254, 253, and 256, the mint of Nottingham is closed. Tradition tells us that he joined the Crusades, and it is significant that when in 1107-1114 his name suddenly returns into our charters it is usually accompanied by that of Earl Simon of Northampton until the death of the latter in 1109. It is almost impossible to imagine that if Peverell had been in England or Normandy he would not have been present at the battle of Tinchebrai, and if present, that his name would not have been recorded in the list of the principal combatants, and yet history and charters alike are silent as to his movements. It is true that there are two charters granted in Normandy which bear the name of William Peverell, but this was in all probability his cousin and namesake of Dover; but if not, as their date is about the year 1103, when Earl Simon joined the Crusades, they only tend to prove the absence of William Peverell from England—perhaps whilst upon his journey across Europe. All these facts, when marshalled together, raise a structure of probability that the three chief castellans and neighbours of Mercia, Earl Simon of Northampton and Huntingdon, Ivo de Grantmesnil of Leicester and William Peverell of Nottingham, took the Cross and journeyed to Jerusalem in 1102-3, one dying by the wayside, but the other two returning after the great victory of 1106, and arriving together, first in Normandy in the following year and later in England, perhaps in January, 1108. This probability is again supported by the parallel between Peverell and Earl Simon, for just as the first act of Earl Simon, as a thank-offering for his safe return, was to found St. Andrew's Priory at Northampton, so that of William Peverell was to found Lenton Priory at Nottingham. It is in this foundation charter that the old initial S in the name of

Nottingham is for the first time dropped. Its date has been assigned to various years between 1100 and 1108, but its true date must be late in 1107 or early in 1108; one reason amongst others being that Earl Simon, who witnessed it, did not return to England until late in 1107, and Gerard, Archbishop of York, another of the witnesses, died "before Pentecost," 1108.

That William Peverell was in England and at Henry's Court at Reading in 1111 is clearly proved by the dated charter to Colne Priory, and he would surely entertain the King on his visit in October, 1109; therefore it is probable that he resided at Nottingham from 1108 to 1112, and coincidentally with this residence, type 257 (1110-1112), although the attribution of the coins is not quite beyond question, appears from the Nottingham mint. He, however, crossed to Normandy in 1112-1113, for he witnessed the St. Evroul charter at Rouen of that date, and he died in January, 1114, so we have no more coins of this mint during his lifetime.

He was succeeded by his son, William Peverell II, who is mentioned in the Lenton charter. But as his name would seem to be absent from our English charters in the meantime, and as the Pipe Roll tells us that in 1130 he had not yet paid off the instalments due upon his succession to his Forestry rights over the Peak and in Nottinghamshire, we may safely accept the evidence of our coins and assume that he remained in Normandy until 1120 and returned to England with the King in November of that year. The mint re-opens with type IV (1121-1123), and also gives us types 265 (1126-1129) and 262 (1129-1131), and during the issue of the latter type the Pipe Roll proves that Peverell was within his lordship.

The two consecutive entries in the 1130 Roll that

Osgot, priest of Duffield, and Swein of the Gate [of Nottingham], had been amerced, the former in sixty shillings for false pennies, and the latter in one hundred shillings on a plea of Ralph Basset, the King's Justice, probably refer, in Osgot's case, to a fine levied by the Exchequer upon him to make good certain payments made by him in debased or light-weight money (see page 8), but in that of Swein to an amercement or fine levied upon him as moneyer. His name, Swein of the Gate, suggests that the mint, as was provided by Ethelred's Institutes of London (page 278), was at the town gate, and he was, of course, the S[P]EINE on type 262 (1129-1131); but his must have been a very minor offence, for when the mint was reopened in Stephen's reign we find him again the Nottingham moneyer, which could not have been the case had he suffered the customary penal punishment for false coining.

But after type 262 (1129-1131) the coinage is again in abeyance, for the plentiful type 255, the last of the reign, seems to be absent from Nottingham. In September, 1131, William Peverell witnessed the Salisbury charter at Northampton, and that is the last we ever hear of him. To prove that he died before the accession of Stephen in 1135 is not difficult, for the "William Peverell de Nottingham" who witnessed that King's Charter of Liberties, as already a baron early in 1136 (see *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 263), was the same whom Orderic, in 1138, calls "the young William, surnamed Peverell," and whom King Stephen addresses in a charter to Lenton as William Peverell "junior." Hence, to speak of the Peverell, who was concerned in the Lenton charter of 1108, some thirty years afterwards as "the young William" would be impossible. In view, therefore, of the

negative evidence of the closing of the Nottingham mint in 1131, and the affirmative evidence of the death of William Peverell II at some time between that date and 1135, we may venture to associate cause with effect and assign its date to the close of the year 1131, thus accounting for the cessation of coinage at Nottingham.

In January, 1880, one of the most historically interesting of our finds of English coins occurred during excavations for cellars in Bridlesmith Gate, Nottingham. The writer, being in Nottingham at the time, was, by the courtesy of the late Mr. Toplis, enabled to examine the bulk of the find, and since then Mr. Wallis, of the Nottingham Castle Museum, Mr. S. Page, and many members of the Numismatic Society, have submitted for his inspection what, he believes, practically represent the remainder of the hoard. It contained about 150 coins of the reign of Stephen, in which period its special interest is centred, and 23 of Henry I; namely, one each of types 251 and IV, probably then only of intrinsic, not current value, and 20 of type 255 (1131-1135). The hoard itself furnishes curious and definite internal evidence that its date of deposit was at some time between June and December, 1141, but as the evidence of it is outside the province of this treatise, perhaps the reader will, in this instance, accept the *dictum*. But the coins of the find present a peculiar and unique feature by which most of them may be identified in the trays of a collection at sight. They have been subjected, at some period of their existence, to an intense heat and are, in consequence, blistered and cockled to such an extent as, in many instances, to assume a saucer-like form. This was the more noticeable at the time of their discovery, as many have since been straightened, and not a few broken

in the attempted operation, but a glance at the 100 specimens carefully preserved by Mr. Wallis at the deservedly popular Museum of Art at Nottingham will amply satisfy the curious in this respect.

Such was the hoard as we found it in the nineteenth century. The following is the contemporary account of its loss in the twelfth century, and it is odd that no one has hitherto connected the two incidents.

“Before the Nativity of St. Mary, September 8th, Robert, son of King Henry, instigated by Ralph Paynell, took with him the Knights of the Earl of Warwick, and with those he drew out of Gloucestershire, and a great body of common soldiers, made a sudden attack on the town of Nottingham, and, finding there was no force to defend it, commenced plundering it, the townsmen from all quarters taking refuge in the churches. One of these, who was reported to be a wealthy man; having been laid hold of, was led tightly bound to his house that he might be forced to give up his money. The man conducted the freebooters, over greedy for spoil, into a chamber underground where all his household wealth was supposed to be stored. But while they were intent upon pillage and breaking open doors and locks, he cunningly slipped away, and gaining the chambers, and then the hall, closed all the doors behind them and fastened them with bolts. He then set fire to his house and consigned the buildings and all his riches, together with the robbers, to the flames. It is reported that more than thirty men who were in the cellar perished by the fire, and some say that it spread through the whole town and burnt it to the ground; for the knights and the whole army swore that they were guiltless of having set it on fire. Thus the whole place was consumed, and all who could be taken outside the churches were carried into captivity; some of them as far as Gloucester. The rest of the common people, men, women, and children, who had fled to the churches, not daring to come forth for fear of being taken by the enemy, nearly all perished as the churches fell a prey to the raging conflagration. . . . Thus Nottingham was laid in ruins; a most noble town which, from the time of the Norman Conquest of England to the present, had flourished in the greatest peace and tranquillity, and abounded in wealth of all kinds and a numerous population.” (Continuator of Florence; Forester.)

The chronicler rarely gives dates, and some of the events amongst which the incident is inserted occurred in the year 1140, but that date is improbable, as the Earl of Warwick had not then joined the cause of the Empress, and recent historians have proved its true date to be September, 1141, when William Peverell III having been taken prisoner at the battle of Lincoln, and Nottingham therefore having "no force to defend it," the Earl of Gloucester carried out the raid during the siege of Winchester. This exactly coincides with the date of deposit of the hoard as previously mentioned.

Further comment upon this story is scarcely necessary, but as it could be suggested that the burning of the town might account for the loss of several similar hoards, it may be pointed out that a hall and a cellar, or crypt, to a private house, even in Nottingham, "the City of Caves," must have been at that date unheard of. Therefore, when we remember that the then moneyer, Swein, was described in the 1130 Pipe Roll as "of the Gate," that the treasure was discovered in excavating in the Bridlesmith Gate, where, by the way, tradition says the old mint was, that the gate, according to the Institutes of Ethelred II, was the place of coinage, and finally that the coins bearing Swein's name (about one-sixth of the total number) were, unlike most of the rest, as fresh as from the die, it is not difficult to believe that "the freebooters, over greedy for spoil," as might be expected, selected the official of the mint and his stock for the first objects of their plunder.

Although the moneyers of Nottingham are recorded in the 1156-7 Pipe Roll as still owing a debt or fine of 43 marks of silver, the mint seems to have been finally closed upon, and by, the outlawry of the last of the

Peverells in 1154, when the burg and the Trent fisheries reverted to the King.

COINS.

✠AL . . HE : ON : SNOT ✠hENRI . . . AN IV

British Museum. The H is no doubt intended for N, and the name probably ALPINE.

✠AL SNOTEN ✠hENRIEVS R 265

British Museum.

✠ALARIE ON SNOTN 265

Durrant Sale, 1847. As this reading of the moneyer's name was long before Mr. Grueber, in the Montagu catalogue, revolutionized the art of cataloguing, it is not reliable.

✠S[P]EINE ON : SNO : ✠hENRIEVS R 262

J. Verity. As to this moneyer, see before.

. . P . . NE ON : SNO : ✠hENRIEVS R 262

Watford find. Mr. Rashleigh read the P as O.

✠PVLFRIE ON SNOR ✠hENRIE RE : 267

British Museum. Fig. G, page 58. Pl. VIII, No. 5. Engraved Hawkins, 257. This moneyer coined in the previous reign as ✠PVLFRIE ON SNOTINE. Nevertheless, it is with some hesitation that this coin is removed from its old appropriation to Norwich.

✠PVLFRIC ON . . OR

✠HENRI RE 257

Engraved Ruling, Sup., ii., 2, 4. Probably
the above coin. From the Sharp collection
and Wallsop finds.

Tyssen Sale, 1802.

265

OXFORD.

OXNAFORD, OXANFORD, OXENFORD, OXINEFORD, OXONIUM; Early
Saxon, ORSNAFORDA; Domesday and Pipe Roll, OXEN-
FORD.

According to Roger of Wendover, who, however, was but a thirteenth-century chronicler, there was already a City of Oxford in the early Saxon days of the legend of St. Frideswide, and from the superstition attached to that legend, under the year 1111, he tells us, "the Kings of England have always been afraid to enter this city, for it is said to be fatal to them and they are unwilling to test the truth of it at their own peril"; but this, however, is not strictly accurate, unless it is copied from some ancient record of a date prior to the Conquest. Perhaps its severance from the personal influence of the Saxon Kings may, in a measure, account for the total omission of Oxford from the pages of Bede or any of our early chronicles, for we find no mention of it until, under the year 910, one of the MSS. of the Saxon Chronicle records that, on the death of Ethelred of Mercia, Edward the Elder took possession of Oxford. In 1009 the Danes "took their way to Oxford and burned the city," and four years later they compelled the townsmen to submit and deliver hostages. Here

Harold I was elected King by the Witan, and here, in 1040, he died.

When and by whom the great University was founded are matters outside the scope of these pages.

1071. King William builds Oxford Castle and entrusts it to Robert D'Oilli.

1086. Domesday notes.—In the time of the Confessor Oxford paid tax of £20 and 6 sextaries of honey, and to Earl Algar £10. When the King called out his forces 20 burgesses went with him, or paid £20 to exempt all. Now Oxford pays £60 by number of 20 [pennies] to the ounce. There are 243 houses paying taxes, and in addition 478 so waste and destroyed as to be unable to pay. The walls of the city are more than once referred to, and provision is made for their repair by the burgesses. A list of those burgesses who were tenants *in capite* or freeholders in the city—*i. e.*, who held houses of the King for their lives ("*habuit dum vixit*")—is given. Under "*Terra Regis*" the county of Oxford pays a treble *firma noctis*, that is £150; from the increase ("*augmento*," but *?auxilio*), £25 by weight; from the burg, £20 by weight; from the mint, £20 [by weight] in pennies [credited at] 20 to the ounce; also certain other contributions.

1090. The Abbot of Abingdon makes a canal to improve the navigation of the "Thames" to Oxford.

1111. At an enquiry held at the house of Harding at Oxford the canal tolls are formulated.

"Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, gave a site in Oxford, where the body of the virgin St. Frideswide reposes (Christ Church), to a canon named Wimund, who instituted a community of canons there, under regular discipline, and was himself their first Prior." (Wendover.)

1130. Pipe Roll notes.—Robert d'Oilli II, castellan of Oxford, has but recently succeeded to his possessions, probably after a long minority, for he is still paying large succession fees. He is sheriff, and owes 400 marks of silver for the *gersoma*. The work of building the New Hall is evidently in progress, for Humphrey the mason receives £7 12s. 1d. The court has lately passed through Oxford. Thirteen prebendaries are supported out of the county returns. The

fisheries and the mill are mentioned, as also are the guilds of the cloth-weavers and cordwainers. The city contributes £13 17s. Od. in *auxilium*, but £10 is remitted in pardon to the burgesses by the King's writ.

1133. The King held his Easter Court in the New Hall at Oxford. (Huntingdon.)

As Mr. Nicholson, of the Bodleian Library, remarked to the writer, the earliest extant evidence of the existence of Oxford is to be found upon the coins of Alfred the Great struck at "ORSNAFORDA." It was certainly a royal mint in those days, and as such it remained throughout the Saxon period.

In the reign of the Confessor its output was considerable, but during the troubled time of the Conquest Oxford suffered so severely that two-thirds of the city, according to the evidence of Domesday, were devastated. This was probably in 1068, for one of the MSS. of William of Malmesbury confuses Oxford with Exeter in the account of the Conqueror's punishment of the latter city, and so it suggests that the two incidents were perhaps concurrent and similar. Hence afterwards the mint was never so prolific as in Saxon times.

As at Lincoln and Norwich, Oxford being a royal mint we naturally look for the names of some at least of its moneyers amongst the tenants *in capite* given in Domesday. One instance very clearly proves the suggestion given under Lincoln, page 266, that the title *monetarius* was not customarily adopted where the person was, otherwise, well known. It is that of Swetman. He is the only one in the list who is styled *monetarius*, and it is obviously because there is another of the same name who is described in it as "the other Swetman."

Domesday Extracts from the List of Tenants in capite in Oxford.	Names on the Oxford Coins of William I.
Smewine, one house, which pays } nothing }	SMÆPINE
Briktred and Derman, one house of } 16 pence }	BRIHTRED
Svetman, <i>monetarius</i> , one house free, } returning 40 pence . . . Svet- } man has two houses on the } Wall returning 8 shillings . }	SPETMAN
Godwine, one house free	GODPINE
Vimar, one house free	PVLMÆR
Alwi, one house free	ÆLPI

Such was the constitution of the mint of Oxford until the accession of Henry I, although the number of moneyers was being gradually reduced. Upon that event the first type of the new reign, 251 (1100-1102), was issued as before, but from its date, so far as we know, the mint of Oxford must have been entirely closed until the year 1131.

For almost thirty years no money seems to have been issued from this, a royal mint, and we can only endeavour to account for it by comparisons with the contemporary history of other towns. Domesday has told us that the county had to return certain fixed payments, which included £20 from the mint, and as Oxford itself was the only mint town within it, the moneyers of that mint were of course responsible for the payment, whether it was in actual operation or not. Hence, if for some cause or another the King withheld his writ authorising coinage, it would merely be a deprivation of a privilege without loss to his Exchequer, for the citizens would still have to make good the £20. We have already seen that at Dover and Lewes, where the burgesses held their towns upon the custom of defending the shores against an invasion, the

coinage was similarly stopped during the issue of the same type, 251 (1100-1102), because they failed in their duty and deserted the King for Duke Robert. Therefore, as Oxford's duty was to supply 20 burgesses when the King called out his forces, we may almost assume that when Duke Robert landed at Portsmouth in the summer of 1101 and marched on Winchester, the citizens closed their gates against Henry and declared for the Duke. England was then almost equally divided in the question of the succession, and Oxford, after suffering so much at the hands of the first Norman King, would not be too ready to supply her burgesses for the defence of his son, even though the choice but lay between the two brothers. Henry's obvious retaliation would be the punishment of the principal citizens and the withdrawal of their privileges. Such would include the coinage, and so the mint would remain dormant until revived by writ or charter. That something of this sort did occur is almost certain, because in the 1129-30 Pipe Roll, when the coinage was still in abeyance, we have the entry that the city contributed £13 17s. in *auxilium*, but of it was remitted "in pardon by writ of the King to the burgesses of Oxford £10." The entry is under the "*nova placita*," which refer to the accounts for the half-year from Easter to Michaelmas, and so the £10 may be the current half of the £20 referred to in Domesday as the contribution of the mint; but that it refers to the *firma* of the mint itself is proved by the similar cases of Colchester, Dorchester, Norwich, Shaftesbury, Tamworth, Thetford and Wallingford, all of which were in that particular year (1129-1130), closed, or partially closed, mints. We have, therefore, some documentary evidence at least to support the apparent numismatic evidence that the mint was in abeyance from

some time during the issue of type 251 (1100-1102) until that of type 255 (1131-1135), the *alpha* and *omega* of King Henry's types.

At the date of the Pipe Roll the New Hall at Oxford was in course of construction, and £7 12s. 1d. was spent upon its masonry. In 1133 it was completed; so Henry, no doubt to celebrate its opening ceremony, held his Easter Court within it. This, as we have seen, was a mark of honour, and it would be highly improbable that so favoured a city would at that time, at least, not be in the full enjoyment of all its privileges. In 1129-30 he had already returned either the half or the whole of the *firma* of the dormant mint to the citizens, and therefore to regrant the privilege of coinage was really to his own advantage, for he would no longer be petitioned to make any such return. Hence the mint is at last re-opened, and type 255 (1131-1133) is issued by three moneyers at Oxford, whose coins are well represented to-day in our cabinets.

To reintroduce the art of coining, there is little doubt that the King sent his London moneyer RAPVLF to Oxford, for he had coined at London in several of the types until and including 262 (1129-1131), when his name disappears from that mint, and simultaneously appears at Oxford on type 255 (1131-1135), where he remained during Stephen's first, but finally returned to London to coin in one of his later types. On his last type (262) of Henry's reign in London, his name appears in three forms, RAPVLF, RAWLE, and RAVF, and in the following type at Oxford (255) as RAPVLF and RAWLF, for no doubt he furnished his own instructions to the King's *aurifaber* for the legends on his dies. In the 1130 Pipe Roll there is an entry under Oxford that Ralph

fitz Amalr paid a fee of half a mark of gold for his land, because he had traversed against William of London—*i.e.*, for the land at Oxford which he had acquired from or exchanged with William of London [? William Travers, see page 312]—and so, as we have the coincidences of the name of Ralph of London appearing for the first time at Oxford on the type for the following year, and that of William appearing for the first time at London on the same type, it would almost appear as if Ralph the moneyer was Ralph fitz Amalr, and had paid the fee to obtain his qualification for the office as a tenant *in capite* at Oxford, by exchanging his own house at London for that of William at Oxford, who, no doubt, after instruction, succeeded to his office in London, and struck the WILLELMVS ON LVN coins. As the fee was payable after the exchange, the latter would then rightly be described as William of London. If this is correct, it would not only further explain the return of the £10 to the citizens, as the revival of the Oxford mint was then promised, but would also fix the date of the qualification of the moneyer immediately prior to the issue of type 255 (1131-1135). Such a qualification must have been necessary, or Domesday's list of the tenants *in capite* would not have included the names of all of the six moneyers then coining at Oxford. Ralph is again mentioned in a list of the King's burgesses of Oxford, in the transcript of Stephen's charter to Christ Church, as "Radulfus Hons," which latter word is probably a corruption of Mons = *monetarius* (Monasticon).

Ruding quotes the mention of "five shillings from the land of Eadwin the moneyer," in an Abingdon charter of 1116, and of "land held by Godwin and Brihtric, moneyers," in the foundation charter of Oseney Abbey, 1129. The first—which, by the way, Mr. Spicer corrects to "five

shillings from the land of Edwin the moneyer and his brother"—is merely the description of the land which was still known as the land of Edwin the moneyer and his brother, although the former, and therefore both, had lived in the days of the Confessor and was the EADPINE of his Oxford coins. This was the usual practice in legal documents at that date and it has survived until modern times, although we sometimes prefix "now or formerly," and in the Pipe Rolls, for instance, we have "the land of William Peverell" long after he had disappeared from history. The second instance, "land held by Godwin and Brihtric," is precisely similar and almost proves the case, for in the charter the correct reading is "terras quas tenuerunt." Hence the "Godwine" and "Brihtred" of Domesday and on the coins of William I have, in the course of copying, forty-three years afterwards, become "Godwin and Brihtric," and are similarly repeated in an Oxford charter of two generations later! See, also, page 435.

The mint was continued until the accession of Edward I.

COINS.

✠IEGLNOD ON OXNE ✠HNRIEVS RE 251

British Museum. An Ailnoth, as a former citizen of Oxford, is mentioned in the Oseney charter of 1129.

✠RAPVLF : ON : OXENN ✠HENRIEVS : 255

J. Murdoch. **Pl. VII, No. 9.** From the Montagu Sale, 1896, £3. As to this moneyer, see before.

. . . . VLF : ON : O . . N 255

Brice Sale, 1881, £2 2s. 0d. ; Sale, June, 1885.

✠ RAWLF ON OXEN ✠ hEN . . EVS 255

British Museum.

✠ RAWLF . . OXEN ✠ hEN . . EVS 255

Watford find.

... VVLF ON O ... 255

H. P. Smith Sale, 1886.

✠ SAGRIM : ON : OXENN ✠ hENRIEVS 255

Watford find, 2 specimens ; L. A. Lawrence, 22½ grs. Domesday mentions three tenants *in capite* at Oxford named Segrim, and a Segrim, citizen of Oxford, is mentioned in the foundation charter of Oseney, 1129, whose property was, or had been, "juxta murum."

✠ SA . . . M : ON : OXNE ✠ hENRIEVS R 255

Engraved Withy and Ryall, ii., 25, but corrected.

✠ SWETMAN : ON : NA ✠ hENRIEV . 255

See page 318.

✠ SWETMAN ON . . . R ✠ . . NRIEVS 255

See page 318.

Hoare Sale, 1861 ; Sainthill, 1870, and Sale, May, 1870. 255

PETERBOROUGH (NORTHAMPTONSHIRE).

BURGH, BURH, BURUH, BURCH ; Early Saxon, MEDESHAMSTEDE ;
Domesday, BURG ; Pipe Roll, BURGUM.

"In the time of King Edgar, Bishop Athelwold restored the Abbey of Medeshamstede, in the town now called Burg, which Bishop Sexwulf founded in the reign of Wulfhere, King of the Mercians," says Orderic ; but according to the Peterborough version of the Saxon Chronicle, it was founded by King Peada and Oswy the brother of King Oswald. Notwithstanding its destruction at the hands of the Danes in the ninth century it subsequently, to quote the last-mentioned authority, "waxed so greatly in land and in gold and in silver that it was called the Golden Burg."

1070. "The Monastery was pillaged and burnt in Hereward's rising, when so much gold and silver, and so much treasure in money, apparel, and books were taken, that no man can compute the amount." (Sax. Chron.)

1086. Domesday notes.—The extensive possessions of the Abbot of Peterborough, which include "the town which is called Burg," are set out in detail, but throw no light upon his rights of coinage.

1102. "In Pentecost week there came robbers from Auvergne, France, and Flanders, and they broke into the Monastery, and carried off much treasure of gold and silver, crosses, chalices, and candlesticks." (Sax. Chron.)

Michaelmas. Abbot Godric is deposed by the London Synod. (Florence.)

1103-4 ? Matthias elected Abbot, but he only held the Abbey one year.

1107. Arnulf, Prior of Canterbury, elected Abbot. (Sax. Chron.)

1114. Raised to the see of Rochester.
John of Sées succeeds.

1116. August 3. "The whole of the Monastery, with all the houses, excepting the chapterhouse and the dormitory, was burnt, and the greater part of the town also." (Sax. Chron.)
1118. Foundation of the present cathedral.
1125. October 13. Death of Abbot John. (Sax. Chron.)
1127. Henry of Poitou, cousin to the King, appointed Abbot. An unpopular appointment. (Sax. Chron.)
1130. Pipe Roll notes.—Richard Basset, the sheriff, returns the account of the "pisteslai" of the Abbey at 25 marks of silver. Hugh de Waterville accounts for £8 6s. 8d., and Ralph de Lamara for three ounces of gold for succession to the personal effects of the late abbot. Anchitel, priest of Peterborough, accounts for 10 marks of silver for his award, which he was not able to contest; he pays 40 shillings, and owes 7 marks of silver.
1132. Abbot Henry, after being expelled by the monks, is finally deposed, and Martin, Prior of St. Neots, appointed in his stead. (Sax. Chron.)

In the year 963 King Edgar commenced the restoration of the desolated Saxon monastery, and in 972 he granted a charter to it which not only confirmed all its ancient privileges, but included certain additional benefits. Amongst the latter was "one moneyer in Stamford" (Sax. Chron.; Monasticon). Hitherto it has been assumed by all historians that because that part of Stamford which lies to the south of the river Welland, known as St. Martin's, or Stamford Baron, belonged to the monastery in Saxon times, "the moneyer in Stamford" and the mint were within it. But upon comparing the charters of Wulfhere, Edgar and Thurkil Hoche, it seems doubtful whether Stamford Baron was then included within the possessions of the monastery, for whilst the church lay in ruins and its rights dormant, Edward the Elder had built a royal burg (Stamford Baron) "upon the south side of the river," and one would therefore have expected it to have been specially referred to in Edgar's charter if it

were intended to pass, whereas, on the contrary, he certainly implies that Stamford and its market then remained the King's.

On the other hand, the grant of "one moneyer in Stamford" was, as we shall presently see, page 373, exactly on a par with the subsequent grant to Reading Abbey of "one moneyer in London," or as already noticed, page 327, with the right, recorded in Domesday, of the Bishop of East Anglia—then located at Thetford—to "one moneyer in Norwich." Therefore as the Abbot of Reading never had any territorial rights in London, so, conversely, the territorial right, if any, of the Abbot of Peterborough in Stamford had nothing to do with his grant of the moneyer. In all these cases, the King having several royal moneyers in the principal city or town, allocated one of them to the see or monastery as an endowment, and to have granted the privilege of a moneyer to either Peterborough or Reading at the monastery itself would have been an empty benefit, for the abbeys were then only in course of erection and had neither an exchange nor even a resident population. The case, too, of the Bishop of East Anglia, no doubt dates from the time when the see was located at Elmham, and a moneyer there would have little profited him.

Edgar's charter was duly confirmed by his successors Edward the Martyr and Ethelred II (Monasticon); but on his accession, Canute had granted East Anglia to Thurkil the Earl (Sax. Chon.). Hence it was Thurkil's duty to confirm the rights of the monastery, and so amongst the records of the Abbey we find—

"Turkilus Hoche [? the Hold] dedit Sancto Petro Colingham et monetarium in Stanford et terram ibidem ex iste parte aquæ." (Monasticon.)

This is, no doubt, extracted from his confirmation charter so far as the moneyer is concerned, but the grants of Colingham (North Collingham in Nottinghamshire) and Stamford Baron seem to be additional endowments, and only now to come into the abbey's possession. In 1021 Thurkil was outlawed, so Canute himself confirmed the Abbot's privileges, and we have also the record of a similar charter of Edward the Confessor. (Monasticon.)

Thurkil's grant of Stamford Baron to the Abbot, so far from inferring that the mint was on that side the Welland, as Ruding and others have assumed, proves exactly the reverse, for we know that there were then about a dozen moneyers at Stamford, and if he granted the southern burg it would, had the mint been within it, have included not "one moneyer at Stamford" only, but the mint and all the twelve. The moneyers, as at London, were no doubt located at the principal gates, and these would be upon the earthworks of the old town on the north side of the river.

As explained on page 30, it follows that all the money struck by the Abbot's moneyer must bear the name of Stamford as its mint, and the contemporary identification of his money would of course be apparent from the moneyer's name upon it. But it might happen that a King's moneyer who had been coining in a certain type was, owing to the death of his ecclesiastical colleague, transferred to the Abbot, and continued to issue the same type for him, or, again, upon the appointment of a new Abbot the moneyer of his predecessor might similarly continue the current type. In either of these cases, it will be patent to all, that unless the Abbot was prepared to accept the responsibility for money issued before it was under his own control, some mark upon the new money was necessary

for identification, and the same necessity would arise when a moneyer succeeded another of the same name. This was readily effected by the addition of a small ornament or device to the existing die.

Such is a very simple explanation of an old but unsolved problem, and if it is similarly extended to the changes in the tenure of, or upon the succession of the Earls and Barons to, the grantees' mints as now proffered in the case of the accession of the spiritual lords, all those small ornaments and devices which are so frequently found upon our early coins need no longer be treated as mere eccentricities or incomprehensible mint marks, for they were as necessary as they were ingenious. The spiritual lords usually chose some ecclesiastical symbol such as a small cross or annulet—their ring of investiture.

“Lay down thy cross and staff,
Thy myter and thy ring I to thee gaff.”

If the reader will refer to the *Num. Chron.* N. S. xx., Pl. XI., Nos. 2, 3, 5, and 7; Ruding, 21, 7, and Hildebrand and *Brit. Mus. Cat.* under “Stamford,” he will find numerous examples of the cross and annulet upon the coins of the Stamford mint; which coins no doubt represent some of the money of the Abbots of Peterborough. The annulet, or ring of St. Peter, was the symbol of investiture, and as such was especially applicable in the cases of St. Peter's at York and St. Peter's at Burgh.

Such was the position at the date of the Conquest. But now we approach a somewhat difficult problem. Since the days of Canute the royal mint of Stamford had been gradually declining, and although there would appear to have been six moneyers in office at the commencement of the Confessor's reign, there were only two or three at its

close. This decrease is the more marked when we enter upon the Norman series of the coinage, for, after correcting some confusion which has arisen owing to the similarity of the contracted forms of the names Steyning and Stafford to Stamford, and after allowing, under one or two types only, for the succession of a new moneyer or moneyers during the period of issue, it is impossible to believe that in any of the reigns of William I, William II, or Henry I there was more than a single moneyer in office at Stamford. The question, of course, follows: Did that moneyer represent the King or the Abbot of Peterborough? The reply must be—the Abbot. In the first place the coinage is of too intermittent a character to represent that of a royal mint. In the second, the Abbot certainly retained his right to a moneyer at Stamford, for King Stephen granted the usual confirmation charter in which it was specially mentioned, and which again was confirmed by a Bull of Pope Eugenius III in 1146 (*Monasticon*), and Mr. W. C. Wells has two Stamford coins of that reign from the same dies, the first of which has a plain sceptre, but upon the second a bar has been subsequently cut across the staff of the sceptre in the die to convert it into a cross, as above explained. And in the third, the mint is not mentioned in Domesday, and therefore as no return from it is recorded for the King it must, if a royal mint, have been included in the *firma* of the town, but although the town paid customs to the King, its *gabulum* and *thelonium* belonged to the Abbot of Peterborough. On the other hand, if the single moneyer was the Abbot's, the return of the mint did not concern the Crown, and so was, properly, omitted from the Survey.

Why this change was made must remain a matter of surmise. It may be that the same advance in trade, popu-

lation and prosperity which induced Remigius to transfer the See of Dorchester to Lincoln caused the King to transfer the Stamford royal moneyers to that city—and the coins of Lincoln of William I and the enormous *firma* of its mint as recorded in Domesday somewhat support the suggestion. Or it may be that as the Monastery of Peterborough was pillaged and burnt, and lost so much treasure “that no man can compute the amount” in the troubles arising out of William’s invasion, the King, to recompense the Church, handed over to the Abbot the whole mint of Stamford and all its profits by withdrawing the royal moneyers. This, perhaps, is the more probable explanation in view of the subsequent parallel instance of Bath, see page 110.

On the accession of Henry I Godric was Abbot of Peterborough, and type 251 (1100-1102) is in evidence from the Stamford moneyer. At Michaelmas, 1102, commenced the great war of investitures between Archbishop Anselm and King Henry. The Archbishop claimed that the King had no power to appoint to a benefice without the sanction of the Church. He, therefore, called a synod at London in September, 1102, and revoked the appointment of no fewer than nine Abbots, of whom Godric was one. To this Henry not only refused to submit, but is recorded to have shown marks of special favour to the deposed Abbots, and he ultimately banished Anselm. The position, therefore, at Peterborough was that Godric remained the temporal Abbot, but Matthias was elected spiritual Abbot against the will of the King, hence it follows to reason that as Stamford was a royal burg its moneyer remained Godric’s, and so types 254 (1102-1104) and 253 (1104-1106) appear from the mint. Meanwhile Matthias, who only held the Abbacy, under the spiritual appointment, for exactly

twelve months, died on October 19th in either 1103 or 1104 ; for although the Saxon Chronicle gives it as 1103, it would make the date of his election, *i.e.* when " he was received in procession as Abbot," immediately follow the synod, which was unusual, whereas other authorities state that in 1107 Henry had held the abbey in his own hands—*i.e.* through Godric—for three, not four years.

In 1107 Henry had to submit to the Church, Anselm was recalled, and in August, " amongst others who then received abbacies, Arnulf, Prior of Canterbury, obtained that of Peterborough." (Sax. Chron.) This appointment—of one of Anselm's Priors of Canterbury—may be assumed to have been made grudgingly and of necessity, and it is not to be expected that the King would, if he could avoid it, confirm the Abbot's temporal privilege of a moneyer at Stamford. This is borne out by the fact that we have no coins bearing the name of Stamford upon any of the types during Abbot Arnulf's tenure of office, namely, from August, 1107, to September 13th, 1114. (Sax. Chron.)

"Soon afterwards," says the same authority, "at the request of the Archbishop of Canterbury [Ralph], the King gave the Abbacy to a monk of Sées, named John. And soon after this the King and the Archbishop sent him to Rome for the Archbishop's Pall. This was done on the 11th before the Kalends of October." Thus, immediately upon his appointment, John of Sées sets out on a journey to Rome, from which he did not return until June 27th, 1115. (Sax. Chron. ; Florence.) Then, no doubt, he received his confirmation charter from King Henry and type 264 (1116-1119) is issued from the Stamford mint. Abbot John died in 1125, and, meanwhile, we know nothing of his history nor have we, so far

as is yet ascertained, any coins representing the last five years of his life.

In 1127 the King granted the abbey to Henry of Poitou — sometimes styled of Anjou — “forasmuch as he was his kinsman,” and “thus vexatiously was the Abbacy of Peterborough given away at London between Christmas and Candlemas, and so Henry went with the King to Winchester and thence he came to Peterborough and there lived even as a drone in a hive.” (Sax. Chron.) He at once revived the coinage at Stamford and issued types 265 (1126-1128) and 262 (1128-1131). On June 23rd, 1131, he was expelled by the monks, who “for five-and-twenty years had never known a good day.” (Sax. Chron.) A few lines later the same authority refers to them as “the wretched monks of Peterborough, standing in need of the help of all Christian people,” and the observant reader will notice that this period of twenty-five years, namely, from the year 1106, represents the only time in the history of the abbey when its mint at Stamford lay almost dormant.

But in 1132 “the King granted the abbacy to a Prior of St. Neots named Martin, and he came to the monastery, right worshipfully attended, on St. Peter’s day.” (Sax. Chron.) He issued type 255 (1131-1135) and from this time forward the Abbots of Peterborough regularly continued their mint at Stamford until its close in the reign of Henry II.

Concerning the moneyers. It will be remembered that the Saxon Kings assigned one of their own moneyers at Stamford to the Abbots, and therefore his position would be that of a royal moneyer who had to account to the Abbot—exactly as we shall see under Reading, Henry I assigned one of his royal moneyers of

London to that abbey. Hence the position of the Stamford moneyer remained similar to that of a royal moneyer as described under Lincoln, London, and elsewhere. There was no objection to his being a priest or monk, for, as we have seen in Ethelred II's Institutes of London, he would have subordinates under him, and we know that several London moneyers were admitted into the Church. In Domesday we read that Lewine had lately held a house in Stamford "to all custom except geld," and on the coins of the Confessor and of William I, but previously to 1086 only, is the name of LEFPINE or LEOFPINE.

Until Mr. L. A. Lawrence, in *Num. Chron.*, iii., 17, 302, demonstrated that a series of Saxon and Norman coins reading BERDESTA, BIIRDI, BARD, &c., as their place of mintage were coins of the Barnstaple mint, it was erroneously thought that the coins of the Conqueror reading BIIRDI=BARDI represented Peterborough. See page 103.

COINS.

ISSUED FROM THE STAMFORD MINT UNDER THE CHARTERED
PRIVILEGES OF THE ABBOTS OF PETERBOROUGH.

✠AREIL ON STEN

✠HIENRI R 254

Hunterian Museum, Glasgow University;
Pl. II, No. 8. The moneyer coined here
in the previous reign as ON STNF.

✠ARLIL ON STNFR

✠HENRI REX 253

British Museum. Fig. C, page 49.

- ✠GODRIE ON STEN ✠HENRI REX 253
J. Verity. From the Marsham, 1888, and
Montagu, 1896, Sales.
- ✠GODRIE : ON : STAN ✠HENRIEVS 264
J. Murdoch. From the Carbery Evans
collection.
- ✠HEIRMAN ON STN ✠HNRI REX I 251
British Museum. The moneyer coined here in
the previous reign.
- ✠HIR[M]OR ON . TANE ✠HENRI RE 253
Spink and Son.
- ✠h[IRMOR] ON STANEFOR ✠HENRIEVS R 265
Bodleian Library. The moneyer was pro-
bably son of the above.
- MOR : ON : STANFOR ✠HENRIEVS R : 262
Watford find. 16½ grs.
- ✠LEVSI : ON : STAN ✠HENRIEVS : 255
Lincoln and Son. This moneyer continued to
coin here in the following reign.
- ✠LEV . . . S . . NE ✠h . . RIE . S 255
Watford find.
- ✠MORVS : O[N] STANE : ✠HENRIE . S R : 264
British Museum. Engraved Withy and Ryall,
ii., 14; Snelling, i., 19; Hawkins, 264 and
Num. Chron., x., 21. The moneyer's name
is surely not what *Morus* means, but
probably a contraction of *Morinus*.

Late A. E. Packe. The moneyer would probably be *HIRMOR*.

For the coin of type 265, attributed by Mr. Sharp and in the Whitbourn and Montagu catalogues to this mint, see under Thetford, page 427.

READING (BERKSHIRE).

REDDINGES, RADINGES, RADINGIA, RADYNG, READINGAS ; Domesday, REDINGES ; Pipe Roll, RADING.

Reading, like Oxford, does not appear upon the pages of history until long after it had become a town of importance, for when, under the year 871, it is first mentioned in the Saxon Chronicle, its possession was the cause of one of the most sanguinary of the many contests between King Ethelred and the Danes. It was burnt by the latter in 1006 (Florence) and its recovery seems to have been but slow, for at the date of Domesday it was a comparatively small town, and it was not until the foundation of the great abbey in the first quarter of the twelfth century that it again flourished in wealth and importance.

1086. Domesday notes.—The King holds Reading in lordship. King Edward held it. It pays tax for 43 hides. In the time of King Edward it was worth £40, now it is worth £48. The King has in the burg 28 houses, returning £4 3s. 0d. for all customs ; nevertheless, he [the sheriff] who has it pays one hundred shillings. The corn mills and fishery rights are mentioned, and also the *hospitium*.

1111. King Henry, here, granted his charter to Colne Abbey. (Monasticon.)

1121. "At Reading some monks began to establish a monastic order under the holy regulations of St. Benedict," but elsewhere Westminster states that the King "built the abbey from its foundations, and during his lifetime had laid the first stone in the presence of Stephen, afterwards King, and of many of his barons."
1123. April 15. Hugh, Prior of St. Pancras (at Lewes), appointed Abbot (Westminster).
1126. On the death of Henry V, Matilda, the Empress, brought with her to England the sanctified hand of St. James. This the King placed in the Abbey of Reading, which he enriched with many valuables. (Hoveden.) The relic was still here at the Dissolution. See the Reading terrier.
1130. Abbot Hugh having been elected Archbishop of Rouen, Ansger, Prior of St. Pancras, was appointed to Reading. (Florence.)
- 1135-6. Christmas. Here Henry's remains were interred with great ceremony.

In the reign of Ethelred II a royal mint was established in the burg of Reading, but shortly afterwards, owing no doubt to the devastation of 1006, it was discontinued. After the gradual recovery of the town the mint was revived in the days of the Confessor, but was finally abolished at the Conquest. It is therefore with the later ecclesiastical coinage that we are now concerned.

Although the abbey was commenced in 1121 and its first Abbot appointed in 1123, it was not until 1125 that the King granted the foundation charter. This charter is dated, and apart from the fact that Henry spent the whole year in Normandy, it bears internal evidence of having been granted in that country. It is witnessed by seven Norman ecclesiastics, and Florence of Worcester tell us that—

"After Easter the bishops elect Simon [of Worcester] and Sigfred [of Chichester] with the Archbishops William and

Thurstan and a Cardinal of Rome named John [of Crema] came [from Normandy] to England and Sigefred was consecrated . . . on the 12th of April."

Hence, as every one of these names appears as that of a witness to the charter, it is quite clear that its date is earlier than April 12th. We may, therefore, almost assume the true date to be on the occasion of the Easter Court, probably at Rouen, on March 29th, 1125.

After reciting that he "had built the new monastery at Reading," Henry grants to its Abbot amongst many other privileges a mint and one moneyer at Reading, viz.—

"Cum moneta et uno monetario apud Radingiam." (*Monasticon*.)

But the grant of a mint and moneyer to an abbey still in the early stages of its erection was but an empty favour, and so we find that the precedent of Peterborough was followed and the King by writ authorized Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, as "Chief Justiciary of all England," in his own absence to allocate one of the royal moneyers of London, who should coin and hold an exchange there, for and on behalf of the Abbot. This, Bishop Roger did, and a transcript of his charter is extant; but, curiously enough, Ruding has credited it to a Bishop of Salisbury of the reign of Henry III. It is of sufficient numismatic interest to deserve a verbatim report.

"Carta R. Episcopi Sar. de uno Monetario in London.

"R. Sar. Episcopus et regni Angliæ procurator sub domino nostro rege Henrico A. Vicecomiti et omnibus ministris regis tam præsentibus quam futuris de London et de tota Anglia salutem. Sciatis quod ex præcepto domini nostri regis Henrici donavimus Hugoni abbati et monachis Rading. unum Monetarium in London, ubi et monetam faciat et cambium teneat et omnia sicut cæteri monetarii regis, Edgarum scilicet, qui

concedente rege ita liber et quietus et absolutus cum domo et familia sua ab omni placito et omnibus causis et consuetudinibus manebit in manu abbatis et monachorum Rading. ac si maneret Radingis. Quicumque etiam post Edgarum, vel loco ejus, in moneta positus apud London per manum abbatis et monachorum Rading. fuerit, eodem modo liber, et quietus, et absolutus cum domo et familia sua apud Lond. manebit in manu abbatis et monachorum Rading ac si maneret Rading.

"Ipse vero Edgarus et quicumque post eum monetarius fuerit, solvet pro moneta abbati et monachis Rading. omnes illas causas et consuetudines quas cæteri monetarii Lond. solvunt domino regi, et cambiet in terra abbatis Rading. sicut ei abbas concesserit, tam Edgarus quam ille qui post eum vel pro eo abbas seu monachi Rading. fecerint monetarium, quod eis concessum est facere in perpetuum." (Monasticon.)

The essential conditions to enable us to accurately determine the date of this charter are not wanting. It refers to Hugh the Abbot, and therefore must be between April 15th, 1123, and May 8th, 1130, when Ansger was appointed in his stead ; but as it is necessarily subsequent to the foundation charter it cannot be earlier than 1125. The fact that it is granted by Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, instead of by the King himself, shows that Henry was then in Normandy, for he had "committed all England [during his absence] to the care and administration of Roger, Bishop of Salisbury" (Sax. Chron.), which again narrows the date. Finally it is addressed to "A," as Sheriff of London, and in this we recognise the Alberic de Vere, Sheriff of London, to whom William Fitz Otho's charter of 1128-1129 was addressed (see page 97). Another charter of the same period is addressed to Alberic as Sheriff of London, and is granted by the King at Barnham, near Arundel, Sussex, whilst, no doubt, on his journey either to or from Normandy. Hence we may, with some degree of certainty, assign the Reading charter of Roger of Salisbury to the date of the King's absence

from England, between August, 1127, and July, 1128, when the Bishop was acting as Regent of the kingdom. Incidentally it should be noticed how clearly this charter proves the correctness of Mr. Round's theory of the later date of the London charter, for it could not have operated if the London moneyers then had under that charter the right to refuse to plead without the city walls.

Having ascertained that the Abbot of Reading had thus received the privilege of coinage at London, in or about 1128, one would expect to find it exercised in the type immediately following—viz. 262, for the years 1129 to 1131, but as yet EDGAR'S name has not been found upon it. The explanation lies in the actual date of Abbot Hugh's election to the Archbishopric of Rouen, for although Robert de Monte gives the date of his consecration as September 14th, 1130, he was actually elected in 1129 or possibly late in 1128. This is clear from the fact that his election was confirmed by Pope Honorius, who himself died February 14th, 1130. Therefore, as the archbishopric was vacated by the death of Geoffrey in November, 1128, which was immediately after the grant of the moneyer to Abbot Hugh, we may assume that the negotiations, pending, for the latter's preferment to Rouen, naturally rendered it not worth his while or expense, for these privileges were costly luxuries, to establish a Reading coinage at London.

But upon the installation of Abbot Ansger the moneyer EADGAR is established, and we find his name in plentiful evidence on the coins struck at London in type 255 (1131-1135). From the fact that there are no annulets or other ornaments upon Eadgar's coins we may assume that he had never coined, in that type at least, for the King, and therefore that all his coins were struck under the

authority of the Abbot. As his name does not appear in Stephen's reign, it is probable that he died or retired from office at some date between 1131 and 1135. The Abbot would then, under the powers of his charter, appoint "*per manum Abbatis et monachorum*," another of the London moneyers to represent him at that mint. Following the rule as explained under Peterborough, page 263, if he appointed a moneyer who had already been coining at London in type 255, it would be necessary for some ornament or mark—probably an annulet, the symbol of the Abbot's investiture—to be cut upon the dies, so that the new coins, which would still bear the name of London, could be distinguished from the old, and the responsibility for both thus identified. This we find exactly the case upon the coins of one moneyer, and of one moneyer only, namely BALDEPIN, who at first uses plain dies in type 255, but later—and judging from their percentage, towards the close of the type—a small annulet is cut upon them, and so the subsequent coins were thus distinguished as the Reading money. Perhaps, in this originated the Abbot of Reading's power to order certain ornaments or *impressions* upon his coins, which is referred to in the writ of 1338 quoted on page 28. When the customs of heraldry became more general in this country, it was only natural that the annulet of the Abbot in the reigns of Henry I and Stephen should give place to the escallop shell, the arms of the abbey, in the reigns of the Edwards.

Later, when the population and wealth around the abbey rendered it a question of no importance whether the mint and exchange were at London or Reading, the moneyer was removed to the abbey itself. But the monetary powers of the Abbot were finally withdrawn in the reign of Edward III.

COINS.

ISSUED FROM THE LONDON MINT UNDER THE CHARTERED
PRIVILEGES OF THE ABBOT OF READING.

✠ÆDGAR : ON : LVND ✠hE . . ILVS : 255

Watford find, 3 specimens; L. A. Lawrence.
As to this moneyer, see before.

✠ÆDGAR : ON : LVNDE : ✠hENRIEVS : 255

Watford find, 6 specimens; A. A. Banes.

✠ÆDGAR : ON : LVND ✠hENRIEVS 255

British Museum; L. A. Lawrence; late
J. Toplis; Lincoln and Son.

✠ÆDGER : ON : LVNDE : ✠hENRIEVS 255

S. Page.

✠ÆDGAR ON LVND ✠hENRIEV 255

L. A. Lawrence. This is, perhaps, the only
instance of the use of the Saxon Ð so late
as the date of this type.

✠ÆTGAR : ON : LVND : ✠hENRIEV . 255

N. Heywood. Mr. Heywood has constantly
contributed information upon this period of
the coinage.

✠BALDEPIN : ON : LVN : ✠hENRIEVS 255

J. Verity. Obverse, a small annulet upon the
right cheek. As to this moneyer and pecu-
liarity, see before.

✠BAL ON LVN . hENRIEVS 255

A. H. Sadd. Similar.

✠BALD ON : LVN

. . . NBIEVS :

255

W. Minton. Obverse, a small annulet upon the right shoulder and upon the nose. Baldwin continued to coin in the following reign, and was succeeded by SMÆPINE.

RIC.

"RIC" is given in Ruding's list of Henry's mints, and as the name "ETVRI" appears in that of the moneyers, his authority was, doubtless, the coin of type 253, reading, obverse, ✠HENRI REX A. Reverse, ✠ETVRI ON RIL, engraved Withy and Ryall, ii. 13. Following the rules proffered under ATLE and BISES, pages 102 and 117, and bearing in mind that at the date of type 253 the Norwich coins used the form O NOR, &c., instead of ON NOR, it is evident that the engraver had before him an indistinct coin of that mint reading ✠ET∅TAN O NORIL. A comparison of the engraving referred to, with this legend, will disclose how he has correctly read most of the letters, but has accepted fragments of the letters ∅ for V, A for R and N for I, and omitted the second T and O, for which last letter he has, however, left a space. See also page 335.

ROCHESTER.

ROFECEASTER, ROVECESTRIA, ROFFA, ROFUM, HROFECEASTER, HROFECESTER; Domesday, ROVECESTER; Pipe Roll, ROVEC'.

The earthworks and antiquities of Rochester disclose a complete sequence of Roman, British, Saxon, Danish, and Norman occupation, but evidences of an earlier foundation

are doubtful, and it is significant that in Sir John Evans' exhaustive work—*The Coins of the Ancient Britons*—Rochester is one of the few early cities in which no discoveries of pre-Roman coins are recorded. The foundation of its See dates from the days of St. Augustine, and it became one of the most important of the Saxon Bishoprics. In 676 the city was laid in ruins by the Mercians, and in 839 the inhabitants were slaughtered by the Danes. Under the year 885, the Saxon Chronicle records that the Danes unsuccessfully besieged Rochester and wrought a burh there, which may be the existing mound known as Boley Hill.

- 1067. King William created his half-brother Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, Earl of Kent.
- 1082. The fall of Odo, who was imprisoned until the King's death.
- 1086. Domesday notes.—“In the time of King Edward the City of Rochester was valued at 100 shillings. When the Bishop [Odo, as Earl of Kent] received it, it was worth the same. Now it is valued at £20, nevertheless he who holds it [the King's Sheriff] pays £40.” At Aylesford the Bishop of Rochester holds as much land as is worth 17s. 4d., in exchange for the land on which the Castle [of Rochester] stands.
- 1088. Bishop Odo, having revolted against Rufus, seized and defended Rochester, but the city was compelled to surrender and, finally, Odo was banished.
- 1100. King Henry, upon his accession, grants a confirmation charter to Gundulf, the then Bishop of Rochester. (Monasticon.)
- 1108. March 7th. Death of Bishop Gundulf.
August 11th. Ralph of Sées is appointed Bishop.
- 1114. April 26th. Bishop Ralph is translated to the Archbishopric of Canterbury.
August 15th. Arnulf, Abbot of Peterborough, is appointed Bishop.
- 1124. March. Death of Bishop Arnulf.
- 1125. May 23rd. John, Archdeacon of Canterbury, is consecrated Bishop.
- 1126. “The King, also, by the advice of his barons

granted to the Church of Canterbury, and to William the Archbishop and to all his successors the custody and constableness of the castle of Rochester, to hold for ever; with liberty to make in the same castle a fort or tower as they pleased, and have and guard it for ever; and that the garrison stationed in the castle should have free ingress and egress on their own occasions, and should be security to the Archbishop for it. (Florence; Forester.)

1130. Pipe Roll notes.—Three shillings and fourpence is spent on repairing the bridge at Rochester in preparation for the visit of the King. The Bishop accounts for 60 marks of silver for the manor of Hedenham [which he held under charter from Rufus in return for building, or rebuilding, the castle, *i.e.*, the fortified enclosure—not the keep—at Rochester. See *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 338]. Also 60 marks that he need not plead against Fulco de Fontibus save by the estoppel of his ecclesiastical charters. [This is the *probable* meaning of a very obscure passage.]

1130. May 7th. "The City of Rochester was destroyed by fire while the King was there, and on the day following the new Church of St. Andrew was consecrated by William the Archbishop." (Florence.)

According to Hawkins, p. 113, there seems to be ground for assigning various coins of Ecgbert bearing the name of St. Andrew, the patron saint of Rochester, to the mint of this city, and Mr. Grueber, in *Num. Chron.* 1894, p. 40, throws further light on the subject, by assigning to Rochester certain coins of his predecessors Coenwulf, Beornwulf, and Ceolwulf I. These attributions are supported by the fact that at the date of King Athelstan's Law the mint was already of sufficient importance to be allowed three moneyers—two for the King and one for the Bishop. From the reign of the latter King to that of William I its coins are fairly represented in our cabinets.

William I created his half-brother Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, Earl of Kent, and Domesday tells us that Odo "received the City of Rochester." Thus, as we have

seen under Bath, p. 110-111, Colchester, p. 162, and elsewhere, such a grant of a city carried with it the King's mint, and therefore two of the three moneyers, mentioned in Athelstan's Law, were transferred to the Earl, but the third remained the privilege of the Bishop.

On the fall of Odo in 1082, the earldom was escheated, and therefore the right to the two moneyers fell into abeyance, and so remained until about a century later, when they were re-established upon their original status as royal moneyers. Hence, at the date of Domesday—1086—the King had no interest in the mint of Rochester, and so it is not scheduled in the Survey. But Gundulf, Bishop of Rochester, afterwards the favourite of Rufus, continued to exercise his privilege of the third moneyer.

On King Henry's accession in 1100, Gundulf received his confirmation charter and type 251 (1100-1102) is in evidence to-day that he continued his coinage at Rochester. But from that date until about a hundred years afterwards we have no coin bearing the name of Rochester upon it. If we had no records of English history but our coins we should erroneously infer that Gundulf died in 1103, and that with him the episcopal right to a moneyer at Rochester ceased to exist. It is certainly clear that, after him, no Bishop did exercise the privilege at Rochester, but that it was not continued after Michaelmas 1102 until Gundulf's death, March 7th, 1108, is curious. Perhaps types 254, 253 and 252, which represent those years, may yet be forthcoming, but a study of the history of the closing years of the aged Bishop offers a possible explanation; for, in 1103, he seems to have virtually retired from public life and probably neglected his right of coinage. Orderic perhaps hints at this when he tells us that the King "through Bishop Gundulf,"

raised Ralph of Sées to the See of Rochester," which can only mean that the Bishop himself arranged the appointment of his own successor, who was, perhaps, already his deputy. Of ten charters in the reign of Henry I, which bear Gundulf's name, nine were granted between 1100 and 1103, but the tenth, the foundation charter of St. Andrews, Northampton, is dated the eighth year of King Henry's reign, so Gundulf was still the nominal Bishop. We can, however, quite understand that after the two secular moneyers were discontinued, the influence of the Church of Canterbury would be brought to bear against the continuance of another ecclesiastical mint so near to her own, and when we notice that in 1102-3 Wulfwine—the then moneyer at Rochester, who had but just succeeded Ælstan, was transferred to Canterbury, we may almost take it for granted that some mutual arrangement was arrived at, by which the Bishop's moneyer and privilege were removed and absorbed into the archiepiscopal mint, even as the Castle itself was predestined so soon to be granted to the Mother Church.

Ruding, quoting a MS. note by Mr. North, tells us that Gledwine and Robert were moneyers at Rochester in the reign of Henry I, and, on the authority of the *Textus Roffensis*, that

"Geldwine and Robert were *then* moneyers here. The former of these persons granted a house, &c., to Bishop Ernulph and the monks of St. Andrew (Rochester) on condition that he should be received into that house [church]."

This is the usual error, as explained under Oxford, page 358, caused by land being described in later confirmation charters under its original description, just as in the 1130 Pipe Roll, the item concerning the bridge of Rochester is entered under "the land of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux,"

although thirty years had elapsed since his death. Geldwine's original grant is, however, thus recorded in the Monasticon, but without any date being assigned to it—

“Geldewine the moneyer gave his house adjoining the cemetery of the monks.”

He was, without doubt, the GELDEWINE whose name appears upon Canterbury coins of the reign of Edward the Confessor, and was, therefore, a moneyer coining at that city who held property in Rochester, or was it, also, at Canterbury?

This again supports the probability that the Bishops of Rochester had, as in the similar instances of the Abbots of Peterborough and Reading, the alternative privilege of transferring their moneyer by the King's writ to the mint of the larger city and, it is suggested, this is what really happened when coinage at Rochester was discontinued in 1102-3, as it would not only account in the above passage for the name of Robert being given by Mr. North as a Rochester moneyer, for we find his name on the Canterbury coins of the last type of Henry I, but also for the issue of one or two types at Canterbury during the period of the exile of Archbishop Anselm.

The royal mint, as previously mentioned, seems to have been revived for a short period at the end of the twelfth or at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

COINS.

✠ÆLSTAN ON ROF

✠HNRI REX

251

B. Roth. From the Montagu Sale, 1886, £3 15s., and the Addington collection. ÆLSTAN is a contraction for Athelstan, and both forms appear on the Rochester coins of Rufus.

✠IELSTAN ON ROF

251

Cuff Sale, 1854, from the Dimsdale Sale, 1824 ;
Chaffers, 1857. Perhaps the previous coin.

✠PVLFPINE ON ROFI

✠HNRI REX N 251

L. A. Lawrence. 21 grs. **Pl. II. No. 3.** From
the Boyne Sale, 1896. As to this moneyer,
see before.

✠PVLFPINE ON ROFI

✠HNRI REX N 251

British Museum. Probably from the Tyssen,
1802, Sale.

✠PVLFPINE ON ROFI

✠HNRI REX N 251

Dymock Sale, 1848. From the Rich collec-
tion.

The specimen of type 257, attributed to this mint in
the Phare Sale, 1834, is a Norwich coin.

 ROMNEY.

A coin of type 262, reading, Obverse ✠h . . RIELVS R,
and Reverse ✠PVLF . . 3 : O. RVII, was assigned by Mr.
Rashleigh to this mint in his account of the Watford
find. His description of the coins was written fifty-two
years ago, and it is so uniformly accurate that this is almost
the only correction now called for. The reading, if com-
plete, would doubtless be ✠PVLFPARD : ON : LVN, and
the mint London, for a coin from, probably, the same die
has the L in LVN so blurred as to almost resemble R.
See under London, p. 312. There is no evidence that the
mint at Romney was in operation at so late a date as the
reign of Henry I.

ST. EDMUNDSBURY (SUFFOLK).

SEYNT-EDMUNDR-BIRI, BURG-SANCTI-EDMUNDI, S. EDMUNDS-BURG; Domesday, SANCTUS EDMUNDUS and ETMUNDUS; Pipe Roll, SANCTUS EDMUNDUS.

St. Edmundsbury or, as it is now called, Bury St. Edmunds, stands upon the site of a Roman station, but it was not until Edmund, King of East Anglia, chose it as a royal burg, that it attained any notoriety. Hence its name, which subsequently, upon his canonization, assumed its present form. In 903 a monastery was founded here in his honour, which, after being enriched by King Athelstan, received, probably from Edgar, a grant of the burg itself, for under the year 1014, Florence of Worcester tells us that Sweyn, the Dane, exacted an enormous tribute from the burg, "a thing which no one had dared to do since the town was given to the church of the martyr Edmund." Canute, however, fully atoned for his father's sacrilege by showering wealth and possessions upon the monastery, until, in rank and importance, it was only second to that of Glastonbury.

1086. Domesday notes.—In the time of King Edward B[aldwin] the Abbot held, on behalf of the monks, 118 men with full power to give and sell their land, also 2 bondsmen under [? each of] them. The town was then worth £10, now it is worth £20, and has [land] in length a mile and a half, and in breadth as much. Now there are 33 knights, both Norman and English [who render knight's service], and under [? each of] them 22 bondsmen. Now, in all, there are 342 houses.

1100. Robert, the son of Hugh, Earl of Chester, is appointed Abbot. (Orderic.)

1102. Michaelmas. At the London Synod, Abbot Robert is deposed, and the monks immediately appointed Robert, Prior of Westminster, as Abbot. (Florence.)

- 1107. "This year died Robert, Abbot of St. Edmunds bury." (Sax. Chron.)
- 1114. Nov. 1. Aldbold the Jerusalemite appointed. (Monasticon.)
- 1119. His death. (Orderic.)
- 1121. Anselm, nephew of the late Archbishop of that name, appointed Abbot. (Monasticon.)
- 1123. Accompanies William, Archbishop of Canterbury, to Rome, and visits the King's court in Normandy upon his return. (Orderic.)
- 1125. In Normandy, witnesses the Charter to Reading.
- 1130. Pipe Roll notes.—The Abbot is in England, and with the Abbot of Ramsey is contesting a plea against the Bishop of Ely.

According to Orderic and our early charters, the ancient name of this town was Beorhtric's worthe or Beorhtric's Burg; hence it probably owes its origin to Beorhtric, King of East Anglia, *circa* 850-55, and, doubtless, some of his coins, and of those of his successors, Eadmund and Ethelstan II, were struck here.

The passage already quoted from Florence tells us that the burg had been granted to the Abbot of St. Edmundsbury long before 1014, and our coins suggest that this occurred in the reign of Edgar. We have already seen, on page 230, how he encouraged the burgs in East Anglia, and we may almost assume that the charter by which the burg was granted to the Abbot was similar to that which he gave to the Abbot of Peterborough, referred to on page 361, and in which he included the privilege of a moneyer.

We have, moreover, coins of his reign bearing the name of this mint, and of his successors, Edward the Martyr and Ethelred II. But in the time of the latter Sweyn's raid, in which the monastery and town were almost destroyed, no doubt stopped the coinage, and we have no further examples of it until Edward the Con-

fessor came to the throne. That the privilege was entirely confined to the Abbot is demonstrated by the fact that during the whole of this period only one moneyer at a time coined at the mint, and that such moneyer was his is proved by the following confirmation charter granted by Edward the Confessor to Abbot Baldwin upon his installation in 1065, viz.,—

“Edward King gret Aylmer Bisseop and Toly and all mine Theynes on Est Angle frendlike. And Ic kithe ihu Thæt Ic habbe unnen Baldewine Abbot one MUNETERE with innen Seynt Edmundr Biri, also frelike on all thing to habben also me mine on hande stonden ower on ani mine burgh aldrefrelikest. God se ihn alle frend.” (Monasticon.)

Domesday corroborates the story, and shows that the burg, and therefore the mint, remained in the possession of the Abbot, Baldwin, who in 1071 received from Pope Alexander II “a pastoral staff and ring,” and lived until 1097-98.

The following paragraph, taken from the introduction to *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey, Rolls Series, 1890*, unconsciously explains the deadlock at which the affairs of the mint must have arrived during the early years of the reign of Henry I. It should, however, be pointed out that Abbot Robert was one of the numerous illegitimate offspring of Earl Hugh who are mentioned by Orderic, for he left but one legitimate son.

“In 1100 Henry I gave the abbacy to Robert, the son of his cousin Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester. This seems to have been a bad case of the invasion of the ecclesiastical patronage by the secular power . . . With regard to this and similar appointments, St. Anselm, then Archbishop of Canterbury, appealed to Rome. Herbert, Bishop of Norwich, took this opportunity of reviving the claim to the religious superiority over the convent of St. Edmund which had been made by Arfast, his predecessor. . . . The attempt did not succeed ; but

in 1102, at a council convened by St. Anselm, Robert, with several other Abbots, was deposed from office. Another Robert, a monk of Westminster, was then elected by the convent and administered the Abbey with abbatial powers during five years. All this time he was not regularly consecrated to the office, doubtless because the King refused to recognise the appointment and withheld the temporalities . . . In 1107 the opposition of the King having been apparently overcome, Robert was consecrated Abbot by Archbishop Anselm on the feast of the Assumption (Aug. 15th), but died about a month afterwards."

From 1100 to 1102, therefore, coinage at St. Edmundsbury, by Abbot Robert (I), was possible, although scarcely probable, and a coin of type 251 (1100-1102) was described as of this mint in the Tyssen Catalogue of 1802, but its present location has not been traced.

It will, however, be noticed how exactly the story of St. Edmunds, as given above, corresponds with the contemporary history of Peterborough, the only difference being that in the one case the rejected Abbot of Peterborough was still enabled to exercise his grant of the temporalities outside the precincts of the Abbey itself, because his mint was within the King's burg of Stamford ; but, in the other, the Abbot when ousted from St. Edmundsbury, was shut off entirely from his mint within its walls, and therefore, as the King refused to recognise the now Abbot chosen by the monks, and "withheld the temporalities" from him, coinage there was impossible, and so types 254 and 253 are absent.

But on the 15th of August, 1106, the King, says Florence, "had a meeting with Anselm, the Archbishop, and they came to terms of peace and concord on all matters upon which they had differed." Therefore Henry granted the writ which is quoted by Ruding as follows:—

“A writ to Herebert Losinga, Bishop of Norwich [as Spiritual Lord], to Roger Bigot [as the King's Administrator of East Anglia], R. Passelawe [as Sheriff of East Anglia] and Otho Goldsmith, of London [the *cuneator*]; in which it was stated that the King granted that S. Edmund should have his moneyer within his vill, with all the privileges of a mint, in like manner as he had it in the time of the King's father, and in like manner as the King's brother had granted it to him by his writ.” See page 27.

Hence type 252 (1106-1108) now appears at St. Edmundsbury. In 1107 Abbot Robert died, and for seven years the abbacy remained vacant, and consequently the mint was dormant. Late in 1114 Aldbold, the Jerusalemite, was appointed, and held the monastery until his death in 1119, but, as yet, no coins representing this period are forthcoming. It may be, that the explanation is that Henry, still smarting under his defeat in the matter of the investitures, was not content with having retained the revenue of the monastery for seven years, but never sanctioned the monks' appointment of Aldbold and continued to withhold the temporalities. This supposition is supported by the fact that after the death of Aldbold, it was not until two more years had elapsed that the King appointed a successor, and meanwhile he continued to retain the revenue of the monastery, and the coinage was necessarily in abeyance.

From the appointment of Abbot Anselm in 1121, however, the differences between the King and the monks of St. Edmund seem at an end, for we read of the Abbot attending the King's court, and we find his name as a witness to the royal charters. The mint, therefore, is reopened, and type IV (1121-1123) is in evidence before us. But in 1123 Anselm accompanied the King to Normandy, and was still there in 1125, when he witnessed the charter to Reading, hence type 258, which represents

✠GILEBERT : ON . . N ✠hE EX : IV

L. A. Lawrence. This spelling of the moneyer's name does not occur elsewhere in Henry's reign.

✠GILEBERT ON EDM ✠hENRIC : 255

Lincoln and Son.

✠GILEBERT ON EDMVN ✠hENRIEV . 255

Watford find.

✠GILEBERT ON SAN . hENRIE : 255

Watford find; A. A. Banes. It will be noticed that this unusual form of the obverse legend on type 255 occurs on the coin above reading ON EDM.

.. ILEBERT ✠..... 255

Watford find, 2 specimens.

✠GILLEBER ✠hENRIE .. 255

Watford find.

✠GODRIE : ON : S : EDM : ✠hENRIEVS R . 265

J. Murdoch. Pl. VII. No. 1. From the Montagu, 1896, £14 15s., illustrated No. 298 in the catalogue, Shepherd, 1885, £13 10s., Durrant, 1847, and Tyssen, 1802, Sales. Probably the coin engraved Ruding, ii., 5.

✠[GOD]RIE : ON : SANTIE : ✠hENR . . . S R 262

H. M. Reynolds. From the Simpson Rostron Sale, 1892.

. GODRIC : ON : SANT ✚ hENRIEVS R 262

Watford find. Corrected.

✚ ODDE : ON [S]ANTIED • ✚ hEN 262

P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton. Recently found at
Bury St. Edmunds.

✚ PVLFPART : ON : SAN ✚ hENRI REX 263

Bury St. Edmunds Museum. Found at Whep-
stead, within five miles of Bury St. Edmunds.

..... AR ON SANTIEDM 269

H. P. Smith Sale, 1886.

Southgate, 1795, Tyssen, 1802, Sales. 251

SALISBURY (WILTSHIRE).

SARESBERIZ, SARESBERIA, SEARBYRIG, SERIBERIA, SEREBURN ;
Domesday, SARISBERIE ; Pipe Roll, SARUM.

The deserted mound of Old Sarum marks the site of one of the few great cities of the world which have disappeared in historical times. It is true that the mighty earthworks, as an object lesson of the ultimate futility of man's greatest works, still overlook the mediæval city to which they have given their name, but their respective histories are as remotely separated as the stories of war and peace. Old Sarum is a relic of the Neolithic age, and in turn served as a stronghold for Celt, Roman, Briton, Saxon, Dane and Norman, until, worn out by time, it is now barren of mankind. From the date, 522, when "Cynric fought against the Britons at the place which is called Searobyrig and put them to flight," it had probably more of the character of a fortress than of a

city, but its greatest wave of prosperity was when the ancient See of Sherborne was centred within its walls, and its bishop, Roger of Salisbury, was chief justiciary of all England, and administrator of the realm in the days of Henry I.

1069. The ancient See of Sherborne was translated to Salisbury. (Florence.)

1086 Domesday notes.—“From half the mill at Salisbury the King has 20s. by weight. From the *tertius denarius* of Salisbury the King has £6.” The Bishop holds Salisbury. In the time of King Edward it paid geld for 50 hides. There are 32 carrucates of land, of which 10 hides are in lordship and 8 carrucates. Here are 25 villeins and 50 bondsmen with 17 carrucates. In Wilton 7 burgesses belonging to this Manor pay 65 pence. In the Manor there are 4 mills of 47s. 7d. and half a mill of 30s.: also 142 acres of meadow: pasture 20 quarentines long and 10 broad, and woods 4 quarentines long and 2 broad. Of the lands of this Manor Edward [of Salisbury] holds 5 hides, Odo [? of Winchester] 5 hides, and Hugh [? Lasne] 3 hides, less a fifth. Those who held these [hides] in the time of King Edward could not be separated from the Bishop. There are in lordship 5 carrucates and 3 villeins and 17 bondsmen with 2 carrucates. The lordship of the Bishop is worth £47. What the men hold is valued at £17.

Edward of Salisbury, the Sheriff, has per annum from the [*tertius*] *denarius* which pertains to the shrievalty [of Wiltshire], also large payments in kind and otherwise, which are set out in detail.

1100. William II, at the time of his death, held the bishopric of Salisbury in his own hands. (Florence.)

1102. Roger, King Henry's Chancellor, is appointed Bishop, but owing to the dispute as to investitures, his consecration is postponed. (Florence.)

1106. The King holds his Whitsuntide court at Salisbury.

1107. August 11th. Bishop Roger is consecrated. (Florence.) Of him Malmesbury says:—“Henry committed even the kingdom to his fidelity; made him Chancellor, and, not long afterwards, Bishop of Salisbury. Roger therefore decided causes, regulated the expenditure, and had charge of the Treasury.

Such were his occupations when the King was in England, such, without associate or inspector, when he was absent in Normandy. . . . He built anew the church of Salisbury [Old Sarum], and beautified it in such a manner that it yields to none in England."

1114. Edward of Salisbury is in Normandy, and witnesses the King's charter to the Abbey of St. Georges de Bocherville. (Docts. of France.)
1116. March 19th. "The Earls and Barons of all England did homage and swore fealty, at Salisbury, to William, the King's son," as heir-apparent to the throne. (Melrose.)
1119. August. At the battle of Brémule "Edward of Salisbury carried the standard, whose approved intrepidity was in high renown, and never failed him even when fighting to the death." (Orderic.)
1120. November 25th. Edward of Salisbury refused to sail in the ill-fated White Ship, and "came on shore, having left the vessel upon observing that it was overcrowded with riotous and headstrong youths." (Orderic.)
1123. On sailing to Normandy, Henry "committed all England to the care and administration of Bishop Roger." (Sax. Chron.)
1125. Christmas. Bishop Roger, as Chief Justiciary of England, holds the inquisition of the moneyers at Winchester. (See pages 80-81.)
1126. September. The custody of Robert, Duke of Normandy, is transferred from Bishop Roger to Robert of Gloucester. (See page 120.)
1130. Pipe Roll notes.—Twenty shillings are paid out of the county returns for making a gate [or door] to the crypt ["cellarium," but possibly the courtyard] of the keep of Salisbury; and from the market toll of Salisbury, which pertained to the *firma* of Wilton, which the King gave to the Bishop of Salisbury, as the Queen had before given it to the church of Salisbury, 40s. by number. [See the charters to which these items refer in the Monasticon.] The Bishop receives large grants from most of the county returns. Under Northamptonshire and Leicestershire, Paganus de Hocton accounts for 200 marks of silver and 2 marks of gold [upon his marriage with] the widow of Edward of Salisbury, and his father for £200, in

addition, on his behalf, for the same fees. Walter of Salisbury and Patrick de Cadurc receive grants from the returns of Wiltshire, and the latter from those of several other counties. Humphrey de Bohun, under Wiltshire, accounts for £22 10s., as successor to his father's [? father-in-law's] land, and 400 silver marks, that he might be Dapifer to the King; also 60 silver marks in case he should be able to claim the land of Mere [Wilts].

1131. September 8th. At the Council of Northampton, Walter of Salisbury and Humphrey de Bohun witness the King's charter to the See of Salisbury.

The name of the mint of Old Sarum makes its first appearance upon our coins in the reign of Ethelred II, and is continued upon those of all his successors until the Conquest. But the output had been waning until, in the time of the Confessor, it would seem as if the number of moneyers never exceeded two:

A similar condition obtains under both of the Williams, and the types issued are of an intermittent character. This, at once, prohibits the supposition that Salisbury was either a royal mint, or that the privilege of coinage was in the hands of its Bishop. The account of the city as given us in Domesday is peculiar, and worthy of a closer study than these pages will admit. We are told that "the Bishop holds Salisbury," but then follows its description, which is not that of the burg, but of the whole district of some three thousand acres. Moreover, it is worth £47, and as the *tertius denarius* of the burg was only £6, it is quite certain that what the Bishop held was not the burg, or, at least, not the burg alone. But there are more satisfactory proofs that the Bishops of Salisbury never held either the burg or the castle of Salisbury, and, shortly, the following are amongst them. Six years after the date of Domesday the foundation

charter of its cathedral was granted, and amongst other benefits it gave to the Bishop "*et ante postam castelli Seriberiensis terram ex ultra parte viæ in ortorum domorumque canonicorum necessitate*" (*Monasticon*), which, if the Bishop already held the burg, need not, and could not, have been granted to him. The castle of Devizes was the stronghold of Bishop Roger; and there, and not at Salisbury, was Robert, Duke of Normandy, kept prisoner by him. In 1130 the Pipe Roll conclusively proves that the castle of Salisbury was still in the King's hands, for its repairs are disbursed by the sheriff out of the county returns. Finally, it was owing, in part, to the oppression of the King's castellans of Old Sarum that the episcopal chair was ultimately removed to the mediæval and modern city.

What the Bishop held, therefore, according to Domesday, was probably most, if not all, of the Hundred of Underditch, *i.e.*, under the ditches of Old Sarum. But we are told that Edward held five hides, Odo five, and Hugh three and four-fifths of a hide, which in the time of the Confessor could not be separated from what the Bishop held; or, according to the above theory, could not be separated from the hundred. This land is valued at £17, and in view of the fact that the third penny of Salisbury was worth £6, it looks very much as if it represented the burg. "Edward," too, must surely be Edward of Salisbury, and we know, from the fact that his grandson was hereditary castellan, and was as such created Earl of Salisbury, that Edward was the King's castellan, and Domesday tells us that he held also the hereditary shrievalty of Wiltshire.

Without, however, laying stress on the possible identity of the 13½ hides with the burg, it seems certain, from the

subsequent history of the family, that Edward of Salisbury was the King's castellan of the burg. The King, at the time of Domesday, held the *tertius denarius* in his own hands, and it is very possible that it survived to him with those of several cities in the south-west of England, which we know had been possessed by Queen Matilda, and fell into his hands upon her death. Edward's position, therefore, seems to have been very similar to that of Roger Bigod at Ipswich (see page 231), and in all probability he, also, subsequently received the *tertius denarius* itself; for, as hereditary sheriff of the county, he, like De Grantmesnil at Leicester, was almost but not quite an earl.

That the Bishop had no share whatever in the mint of Salisbury is further proved by the 1146 Bull of Pope Eugenius III. This Bull schedules the various possessions and rights of the See of Salisbury, and, as to its form and purpose, is identical in every respect with his Bull of the same date to Peterborough. Yet, although the latter twice details the moneyer at Stamford, there is, in the former, no allusion to any right of coinage in the confirmation of the many privileges of the Bishop of Salisbury. That at the date of Domesday the mint of Salisbury was not in the King's hands is proved by the absence of any item of the payment of a *firma* or fine by its moneyers. And that it was not in the hands of the burgesses is similarly clear from the entire omission of any mention of them or of their *firma*. Therefore little doubt remains that it was a grantee's mint, and the sole prerogative of Edward of Salisbury. Had it been otherwise, we may rest assured that Henry I would have granted some share, at least, in it to his favourite minister and ecclesiastic, Bishop Roger.

Who was Edward of Salisbury? According to our old friend Camden, he was the younger son of Walter de Evreux, Earl of Roumare, but according to "The Norman People," he was the second son of Gerald de Roumare, the Dapifer. He seems therefore to have been the second, or more probably the third son of the House of Roumare and as such was uncle to William de Roumare afterwards Earl of Lincoln (page 262.) The senior line, which held Roumare and other large possessions of the family in Normandy, soon became extinct (Camden) and therefore out of some confusion we may gather the following pedigree. Gerald the Dapifer left seven sons, of whom Robert Fitz Gerald, Roger Fitz Gerald and Edward of Salisbury were the three eldest. The first was the Robert Fitz Gerald who was Standard-Bearer to Bohemond in the first Crusade, and the second was the father of William de Roumare.

From the date of Domesday to the accession of Henry I, Edward of Salisbury's principal residence was the castle from which he derived his name, and, in consequence, most of the intermediate types of the coinage are in evidence from his mint at Salisbury. This was also the local condition of affairs during the first six years of King Henry's reign, and therefore types 251 (1100-1102), 254 (1102-1104), and 253 (1104-1106) are duly represented amongst our coins of this mint. But in 1106 he no doubt accompanied Henry to Normandy and fought at Tinchebrai to earn that "approved intrepidity and high renown" in battle which is accorded to him by Orderic. At this date his brother Roger de Roumare was lately dead, for Lucia, his widow, re-married and became the mother of Ralph de Gernons, at the latest, in 1107; as the latter was of age, and succeeded to the Earldom of Chester in 1129

(page 149). Edward of Salisbury thus acquired the large possessions of Roger in Normandy, as guardian to the infant William de Roumare. About this time, too, probably occurred the death of his eldest brother Robert, the Standard-Bearer, whose line, we know, soon became extinct. It is true that a Robert fitz Gerold's name occurs in much later charters, but as it is usually in connection with the retainers of the Earl of Leicester and appears during Stephen's reign, it cannot represent the Robert whose prowess in the first Crusade was second to none and who was Lord of Roumare. That Edward had succeeded to Robert's vast estates and to his hereditary title of Standard-Bearer to Normandy is proved by the fact that he "carried the Standard" in 1119 at the battle of Brémule, and that he was guardian of the young William de Roumare is corroborated by the fact that Edward of Salisbury and William de Roumare are mentioned by Orderic in the same sentence as refusing to sail in the ill-fated White Ship in 1120. Orderic also says that one Walter similarly escaped, who probably was Edward's son—afterwards Walter of Salisbury.

We have the evidence of the charter of St. Georges that Edward of Salisbury was in Normandy in 1114, and so far as an extensive search has disclosed, no English charter of later date than 1106 bears his name. Hence we may assume that from the time of Tinchebrai in 1106 to his refusing to sail in the White Ship in 1120, Edward was concerned in the wars in Normandy and in the administration of the much larger estates of the family in that country. Thus coincidentally with the consecration of the King's favourite, Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, Edward the castellan relinquishes the city to his care and joins the campaigns in Normandy, hence coinage at

Salisbury is necessarily discontinued. The White Ship was the last of the fleet to sail on the King's return to England in November, 1120, and whether Edward subsequently followed him or not is a matter of doubt, but if we are justified in taking Orderic's expression "even when fighting to the death," in its literal sense, we may assume that he remained in Normandy and perished in one of the numerous battles there, for England rested in peace.

Edward died before 1129, for in that year his widow had already been married to Pain de Hocton. He left a son, Walter of Salisbury, and a daughter, the wife of Humphrey de Bohun. His large possessions in England were, we are told, divided between his son, Walter of Salisbury and his daughter, the wife of Humphrey de Bohun, though Walter would, of course, take Salisbury and the family honours. Both Walter and Humphrey therefore return to England to take possession of their inheritance, and the 1130 Pipe Roll tells us that the former, who is styled "Walter de Salisbury," was receiving revenue from Wiltshire and the adjoining county, and that the latter was paying relief on the death of "his father," perhaps his father-in-law, and had been appointed a Royal Dapifer. In September, 1131, they are together at the Council of Northampton and witness the charter to Salisbury. Hence type 262 (1129-1131) is in evidence, amongst our coins of Salisbury, of this visit to England. As early as in the reign of Rufus, Walter had married Sibilla of Cadurc, and their son Patrick—afterwards first Earl of Salisbury—took his mother's name, and as Patrick de Cadurc is frequently mentioned in the 1130 Pipe Roll. This pedigree is proved by a later charter to Salisbury commencing "*Walterus, Edwardi vicecomitis filius, et*

Sibilla uxor mea et heres noster Comes Patricius" (Geof. de Mand. 276).

We know no more of Walter of Salisbury during the few remaining years of this reign, but as his name does not occur in any English charters in the meantime and as Humphrey de Bohun certainly returned to Normandy, we may assume that his visit to England was merely for the purpose of receiving his hereditary estates in this country and that he preferred to return to his larger possessions in Normandy. This only would account for the absence of type 255 from our coins of Salisbury.

The mint seems to have been intermittently continued until the reign of Henry III, when, no doubt, together with the old city, it ceased its existence.

COINS.

✠GODRIC ON SAER

251

E. H. Evans Sale, 1894. From Rusher Davis Sale, 1893, "found at St. John's." The name of the mint was read SHER, for, on this type, the letter A is often represented by two parallel uprights, joined, as in the modern H. A Godric coined here in the time of William I.

✠OSBRN ON SERB

✠HEN 254

Hunterian Museum, Glasgow University.
Osbern coined here in the two previous reigns.

✠OSBERN ON SEAR

✠HENRI REX AI 253

This reading seems to have been taken from the coin itself, but the reference has been omitted.

as Dover, which the men of the burg testify. Before King Edward gave it to the Holy Trinity it paid £15 to the King. At the time of the death of King Edward it was not [let] at *firma*. When the Archbishop received it, it paid £40 as *firma*, and 40,000 herrings for the sustenance of the monks. In the year in which this survey is made it paid £50 as *firma* and herrings as before. In the time of King Edward there were here 307 inhabited houses, now there are 76 more, *i.e.* 383.

By a charter dated June 3rd, 966, King Edgar granted to the Church at Canterbury the port and town of Sandwich, together with all the liberties and customs of the King which pertained to them, and in 1023 Canute confirmed the same. But in neither of these charters, which are set out in full in the *Diplomatarium Anglicum Ævi Saxonici*, is there any mention of a mint.

Upon the authority of the British Museum Catalogue an incidental reference has been made on page 174 to the origin of this mint in the reign of Ethelred II, but the evidence in support of this contention solely rests upon the legend ✚SPARTGAR MO SAN, and when this is compared with a Stamford coin of the same King and type, reading ✚SPARTGAR MO STA, it is shaken. According to Ruding there is, or was, a coin reading SANDVVI of the reign of Canute which, if correctly read, must have been issued at Sandwich. But the earliest tangible evidence we have of the existence of the mint is on certain coins of the Confessor reading ON SADȝ and ON SANDȝI, and in view of the absence of any reference to a mint in the before-mentioned charters, it is not improbable that it was established by him in a grant to the church of Canterbury. It was continued in the reigns of William I and II.

Domesday tells us that although the Archbishop held

the town it rendered the same service to the King as Dover. Sandwich, therefore, supplied "20 ships to the King's fleet for 15 days in every year, each being manned by 21 men." When, therefore, King Henry ascended the throne in 1100, there was no reason why type 251 (1100-1101) should not have been issued here, although, as yet, it is not to be found. But in 1101, when the fleet betrayed the King upon the emergency of Duke Robert's invasion, and deserted to the enemy, Sandwich, as one of the burghs responsible for the maritime defence, would, as we have seen happened in the similar cases of Dover, Lewes, and Oxford, suffer the King's displeasure and lose its privileges. Thus, whether the moneyer was directly under the Archbishop or whether, as at Dover, Oxford, and Lewes, the burgesses farmed the mint in the *firma* of their burgh, and the latter is the more probable, the privilege would be withdrawn, and coinage of necessity cease.

In his account of the Watford find, *Num. Chron.* xii. 152, Mr. Rashleigh, however, assigns to this mint a coin of type 262 (1128-1131), reading †60 . . . SE:ON:SA.D: and, if correctly read, it is the only specimen of Henry's reign which seems to warrant the appropriation, for all others previously given to Sandwich must, as we have seen on page 390, be transferred to St. Edmundsbury. But standing alone as this reading does, it is not very satisfactory, and it is just possible that it, also, may really be the work of GODRIC of St. Edmundsbury. If, however, it is rightly appropriated to Sandwich, it is significant that its date (1128-1131) should immediately follow a certain writ dated 1127, by which King Henry decided in favour of the Church of Canterbury, a famous cause touching the claims of the Abbot of St. Augustine

to certain customs infringing the liberties of the port of Sandwich, and confirmed the whole of its rents and dues to the former community.

It is, therefore, with much hesitation that Sandwich has been inserted in the list of Henry's mints, and it was omitted, as doubtful, from the list of the mints under type 262, page 90, but as there is a coin of King Stephen reading ON : SANPI, the last which has any claim to such an appropriation, the town must, for the present at least, receive the benefit of the doubt.

COINS.

✠60 . . . SE : ON : SA . D : ✠HENRIE . . 262

Watford find.

For coins previously assigned to this mint see under
St. Edmundsbury.

SOUTHAMPTON (HAMPSHIRE).

HAMTUNE, HEAMTUN, HANTON, ANTONA ; Domesday, HANTUNE ;
Pipe Roll, HAMTONA.

It is to the Roman fortification in the immediate vicinity that Southampton, doubtless, owes its origin ; but its importance in Saxon days was due to its position as the port of Winchester, the capital of England. As such it unfortunately suffered periodical attacks from the Danish fleets, and was more than once burnt to the ground. But upon the accession of Canute its fortunes improved, for he is said to have been crowned here, and to have chosen the burg as an occasional residence : here, also, tradition assigns his famous moral upon the sea-shore.

1086. Domesday notes.—“In the burg of [South] Hampton the King has in lordship 76 men who pay £7 in land tax, and paid the same in the time of King Edward. Of these 27 paid 8d., two 12d., and others, 50 in number, 6d. each. Since King William came into England there are 65 Norman and 31 English inhabitants, who, amongst them, render £4 0s. 6d. in customs.” Various feudatories are mentioned who hold their houses, some fifty in all, free “by concession of King William.”
- 1128-9. King Henry grants the foundation charter of the Priory of St. Denys, Southampton. The date is usually given as 1134, but the charter is addressed to William Bishop of Winchester, who died in 1129, and to William de Pont-de-l’Arche, the Sheriff, who was Sheriff of Hampshire in 1129, and is witnessed by William Archbishop of Canterbury, who was appointed in 1128.
1130. Pipe Roll notes.—The membrane, which, according to the schedule, contained the accounts of Southampton, is missing, but elsewhere we notice that the King’s Court had lately journeyed from Clarendon to this town.

As early as in a charter of King Ethelwulf, Southampton is designated a royal town, and in Athelstan’s Law it was allowed two moneyers. Coins issued here of the latter King are in existence, also of Eadred and of all his Saxon successors.

When the Conqueror “came into England” he found that nearly every burg of importance in the south-western district had acquired the privilege of coining. However convenient the system of numerous small mints, scattered amongst the people, may have been to the public, it was neither economical nor profitable to the King, as, so far as we can judge from existing coins, many of them seem only to have coined spasmodically, for the supply, no doubt, exceeded the demand. William’s policy, therefore, from the commencement of his reign,

was to absorb the smaller mints into the larger, and these again into the chief royal mints of the district. Thus a comparison of their moneyers shows us, how one after another these smaller mints were absorbed, until at the accession of Henry I, in Dorsetshire, Hampshire, and Wiltshire alone, those of Bedwin, Bridport, Cricklade, Malmesbury, Marlborough and Shaftesbury had disappeared, and those of Southampton, Wareham and Wilton seem to have become mere appendages to the royal mint at Winchester. These in turn were to fall, and in the course of centuries London gradually gathered every mint in the country into its meshes until, to-day, it alone survives.

At the date of Domesday the mints of Southampton and Wilton seem to have been in the same relation to Winchester as Southwark was to London, and, therefore, they are not scheduled in the survey. The moneyers of Southampton were usually moneyers of Wilton, and most of the moneyers of Wilton can be identified as officials of the Winchester mint. Again, in later times, for instance, Sanson, who coined only at Southampton in the reign of Stephen, is entered in the *Liber Winton* for 1148 as "Sanson monetarius," and as receiving and paying large fees as a burgess of Winchester. In the same authority appears, amongst its Winchester records, the curious passage, "*Godwin Socche fuit tempore Regis Edwardi magister monetari[orum]*," who was the GODPINE upon the Winchester coins of both the Confessor and William I. This is the only record of an official who is described as the chief of the moneyers; and it seems to fit in exactly with the circumstances if we consider the mint of Winchester as the centre of a monetary system comprising not only its own mint, but, in addition, those of several neighbouring royal towns.

Its vicinity to the great city of Winchester would in any case prejudicially affect the profitable working of the Southampton mint, and, therefore, we can quite understand that after it became appended to that of Winchester there was no necessity for a constant coinage. But the privilege of a mint still existed, and it followed that whenever the demand for currency arose, the privilege would be put into operation. We have seen, under Lincoln, that nothing benefited the prosperity of a town so much as the advent of the King and his court, and nothing, therefore, tended so much to the demand for money. With this in mind, a glance at the types which we have of Southampton in Henry's reign, will explain their issue. In 1106 Henry held his court at Salisbury at the Feast of Pentecost, and thence he sailed to Normandy. Hence we may assume that he embarked from Southampton or Portsmouth, and so we find type 252 (1106-1108) represented amongst our coins of this mint. Under the year 1123 the Saxon Chronicle tells us that "the King went to Winchester, where he remained during the festival of Easter, . . . then he proceeded to Portsmouth, and stayed there over Pentecost week, and as soon as he had a fair wind he sailed for Normandy." Type IV (1121-1123), therefore, records this visit upon our Southampton coins. In 1129, as we have already seen from the records in the Pipe Roll, King Henry and his court visited Southampton. This was in April, 1130, when he journeyed "from Woodstock to Clarendon and from Clarendon to Southampton," thus type 262 (1129-1131) is issued at Southampton. It does not appear that the King was ever in the vicinity of the mint upon any other occasion (except at Portsmouth in 1114, when the coinage was represented at Wilton), and it does not appear that

the mint of Southampton issued any other types. Sudbury, Tamworth and Warwick seem to have been similarly influenced as to their coinage.

The mint was entirely discontinued at some date in the following reign.

COINS.

✠DORT ON hANTO ✠hENRI REX 252

British Museum. From the Montagu Sale, 1896, £5. The first two letters of the moneyer's name are somewhat indistinct.

✠PALEN : ON hAMTV ✠hENRI ... 265

British Museum. Probably from the Tyssen Sale, 1802. The supposed use of the Saxon form of the letter H in the name of the mint on this coin was the exception referred to on page 84, but upon examination the letter proves to be of the ordinary type, *i.e.* H. Hence the solitary exception fails and the disappearance of the form H in the year 1106 was absolute. As to the moneyer, see page 323. The Pain family were settled in Hampshire and Dorsetshire from Norman times — hence Pain's Bridge and Payne's Place; and a member of it was summoned to the 7th Parliament of Richard II.

* S. RLIE ON HAM 252

Simpson Rostron Sale, 1892. Probably the similar coin described in the Marsham catalogue, 1888. The moneyer was doubtless Serlic, and the name Sere' occurs as of this district in the 1130 Pipe Roll. This moneyer coined at Wilton in the previous type.

✠VLF ON HAMTV

✠hENC REX A IV

British Museum. The moneyer was, perhaps, the VLFPINE who had coined at Winchester in type 267.

The coin of type 255 doubtfully attributed to this mint in the Tyssen Catalogue, and therefore so entered on page 96, cannot be traced.

SOUTHWARK. See LONDON AND SOUTHWARK.

STAMFORD. See PETERBOROUGH.

SUDBURY (SUFFOLK).

SUTHBYRIG, SUTHBERIE, SUTHBURH; Domesday, SUTBERIE; Pipe Roll (Henry II), SUTHBERIA.

"The history of East Anglia is nearly blank in the chronicles of England," wrote Sir Francis Palgrave, and perhaps Sudbury stood foremost in his mind. Its name suggests that it was the southern burh of its ancient kingdom, but we gather that in later Saxon times its importance had so waned that at the date of Domesday, although it still retained a market and a mint, its description is rather that of an agricultural district than that of a burg. The Saxon Chronicle tells us that Alfun, Bishop of East Anglia, died at Sudbury in 797, and, some two centuries later, its ancient church of St. Gregory received benefactions under the wills of Ætheric and Ælflaed.

1086. Domesday notes.—Under the heading of "The land of the mother of Earl Morcar which William *camerarius* and Otho *aurifex* administer in the King's hands," is, "In Tingohv Hundred the mother of Earl Morcar held Sudbury in the time of King Edward, now King William has in lordship 3 carrucates of land; then there was one town [*villa*], now there are two and 63 towns—

men, tenants of the Hall-mote, . . and 55 burgesses in lordship." The church of St. Gregory holds certain lands. The burg and the market are mentioned, "and here there are moneyers." "It used to be worth £18, by weight, and now it is worth £28, by number."

1130. Pipe Roll notes.—The first item under this county is that William Sorell accounts for 55 marks of silver and $\frac{1}{2}$ a mark of gold for an amercement of false pennies; he pays £10, is remitted 5 marks of silver by the King's writ, and owes the balance. Sudbury is not mentioned.

Although the name of Sudbury first appears upon our coins in the reign of Ethelred II, there is, from a comparison of the names of its moneyers and from their number at that period, every reason to believe that it had been in operation in previous reigns, when most of the types bore the moneyers' names alone. That it was an ancient town of importance we know; and the name of its hundred—Thingoe—of which, at the date of Domesday, it comprised one quarter in value, suggests that it may, like the Tynwald of Man and the Thingvallyr of Iceland, have been, at some time in the remote past, the *Ting* or moot-place of East Anglia. This would account for the otherwise remarkable fact that immediately its name appears upon our coins we find the names of no fewer than a dozen moneyers upon one type. Hence, in the reign of Ethelred II, the town must have been of the greatest prosperity, and its mint of an importance second to none in East Anglia. But suddenly, during the same reign, the mint is stopped, and although it was revived by Canute, and continued by the Confessor, it never afterwards aspired to more than a single moneyer. Surely this writes the history of the rise and fall of a great East Anglian burg—a prey to the devastation of the Danish raid of 1010, when—

“The Danes had possession of the place of carnage; and there were they horsed; and afterwards had dominion over East Anglia and the land they, for three months, ravaged and burnt; and they even went into the wild fens and they destroyed men and cattle and burned, throughout the fens: and Thetford they burnt and Cambridge, and after that they went southward again to the Thames. . . . ever burning as they went.” (Saxon Chron.)

During the reigns of Canute, Edward the Confessor, and William I and II respectively, so far as we know, the mint only issued one or perhaps two types, and therefore no regular *firma* could have been paid by it. Thus the vague expression in Domesday, “here there are moneyers,” is exactly what we should expect in a case where there was a right of coinage by ancient custom, but which was only exercised at intermittent periods, and under such special conditions and authority as might arise at any time, and for which, therefore, no annual *firma* or definite rent charge could be provided.

In the reign of Henry I there seem to have been four occasions only when the royal mint at the impoverished town of Sudbury might be expected to have been profitably in operation. The first would be in 1104, when, as we are told in the foundation charter of Thetford Priory, “the King made a stay at Thetford.” The date is proved by the list of its witnesses, and Henry would pass through Sudbury on his journey from London. It may be that the King, in return for the expense he put upon the burg for a night’s entertainment of himself and his court, freely confirmed the privilege of coining for that year. Thus we have type 253 (1104-1106), commemorative of the royal visit into East Anglia. The second occasion would be when, as explained on page 62, every hide throughout England had to contribute three shillings in

money for the dowry of the King's daughter Matilda, prior to her marriage with the Emperor of Germany in January, 1114; at a time, too, when Sudbury would be enriched by the influx of visitors at the consecration of its own Priory of St. Bartholomew and of the neighbouring Priory of Thetford. Hence we have type 267 (1112-1114) of this mint. The third occasion was exactly similar, *i.e.*, probably for the dowry of Matilda's second marriage in 1128, and so we have type 265 (1126-1128) in evidence. The fourth and last occasion would be during the years 1128-1131, when, as we have seen, the mint of Norwich was, for a time, closed, and so Sudbury stepped into the breach, and for a short period usurped the privileges of the chief mint in East Anglia by issuing type 262 (1128-1131).

The name of the moneyer on the two first occasions when coinage was in operation at Sudbury—that is—upon types 253 (1104-1106) and 267 (1112-1114) is Wulfric, and as he is probably the PVLFRIC who coined here for William I, he was doubtless of advanced age in 1114. It was about this date that he gave the church of St. Bartholomew at Sudbury to the Monastery of Westminster, for the King's confirmation charter of the gift seems to have been granted in 1117. Henry's charter is undated, but states that it was given at Westminster. Therefore, as it is witnessed by Archbishop Ralph, who was appointed April 26th, 1114, and is addressed to Herbert, Bishop of Norwich, who died July 22nd, 1119, its date is closely defined, and when we observe, by inference, that the Queen, who died May 1st, 1118, was then living, and that Henry granted a charter to Hulme Abbey, Norfolk, also at Westminster, but dated 1117, which is witnessed by Archbishop Ralph and

Ralph the Chancellor (another witness common to both deeds), that year may be accepted as the true date of the Sudbury charter; although the King's presence in England at that period does not appear to have been historically noticed.

The following are its terms :—

“ Henricus Rex Angliæ, Herberto Episcopo Norwic. et Haymoni Dapifero, et Burgensibus de Suthbery, omnibusque ministris suis et fidelibus, Francis et Anglis de Suthfolk salutem. Sciatis me concessisse Deo, et Sancto Petro, et Monasterio Westmon. pro redemptione animæ meæ Ecclesiam Sancti Bartholomei de Suthberiâ quam WULFRICUS *monetarius meus* ad usum monachorum inibi servientium eis dederat pro fraternitate et monachatu suo quem ibidem suscepere,” &c. (Monasticon.)

The charter is interesting, in that it not only describes Wulfric as *monetarius meus*, thus showing him to have been a royal moneyer; but also proves that, as such, he was of sufficient wealth and position as to be the founder, or at least the donor, of the Priory.

The mint seems to have been entirely discontinued after the reign of Stephen.

COINS.

✠[O]SBERN [ON] SVDBE 265

Allen Sale, 1898. A Richard FitzOsborne held a fief in Suffolk from Earl Bigod in 1165. (Norman People.)

✠OS ON : SVTB : ✠HENRICVS RE 262

L. A. Lawrence. 20 grs.

✠OSBERN ON SVTB 262

Sales, April, 1889; June, 1901.

✠PVLFRIE ON SVB

✠HENRI REX 253

E. K. Burstal; 17½ grs. As to this moneyer,
see before.

✠PVLFRIE : ON : SVTB

✠hENRIE REX 267

British Museum.

TAMWORTH (STAFFORDSHIRE).

TAMWEORTHIGE, TAMWURDIN, TAMESWRDA, TOMEWORTHIE, TOMANWORTHIG, CHAUREWERD; Domesday, TAMEWORDE; Pipe Roll, TAMEWORDA.

The earliest reference to Tamworth would seem to be that in the charters of Offa, King of Mercia, and as he and his successors granted several "*in celebre vico on Tomeworthie*," or "*sedens in regali palatio in Tamworthige*," it was doubtless the northern stronghold of the Kings of Mercia. Towards the end of the ninth century the town fell into the hands of the Danes, but in 913, "by the help of God, Ethelfreda, Lady of the Mercians, went with all the Mercians to Tamworth, and there built the burh early in the summer." Here she died, and here in 925, Sihtric, King of Northumbria, paid homage to Athelstan; but in 943 Anlaf the Dane stormed Tamworth with great carnage, and it is doubtful whether in the reign of Henry I the town had even yet recovered from this devastation, for the Pipe Roll gives us but a gloomy record of its poverty.

1086. Domesday notes.—The Honour of Tamworth, like that of Hastings, is omitted from the Survey, but under Wigeton, Draitone and Coleshelle twenty-two burgesses of Tamworth are mentioned as appertaining to those Manors.

1130. Pipe Roll notes.—Under Staffordshire the Sheriff of the county accounts for 25s. for the previous year's *auxilium* of the burg, but it is remitted by the King's writ to the burgessés, "because of their poverty," and similarly for 25s. for the current year, but without any such remission.

Under Warwickshire the Sheriff of the county similarly accounts for 37s. and 2d. for the previous year's *auxilium*, and owes 30s. for the current year.

It is possible that some of the coins of the early Kings of Mercia were struck at Tamworth, when for a time it would appear to have been the seat of government; and, later, its name occurs upon those of Edgar, Edward the Martyr, Ethelred II, Canute, Harold I, and Edward the Confessor. But the mint seems to have been gradually declining in importance towards the close of the Saxon epoch.

The omission from Domesday of the survey of Tamworth proves, as at Hastings, that the King had no interest within it, and a charter of the Empress Matilda to William de Beauchamp shows that the Honour had been granted, probably immediately after the Conquest, to Robert "Dispensator," for she says:—

"Et præter hoc dedi ei et reddidi castellum et honorem de Tamword ad tenendum ita bene et in pace et quiete et plenarie et honorifice et libere sicut unquam melius et quietius et plenarius et honorificentius et liberius Robertus Dispensator frater Ursonis de Abbetot ipsum castellum et honorem tenuerit." (Geof. de Mand., 314.)

The absolute grant of Tamworth to Robert Dispensator would carry with it the royal mint, as we find evidenced upon its coins by the usual grantee's intermittent coinage during the reigns of the two Williams. Robert died, without issue, in the reign of William II, and Tamworth would thus revert to the King. We now approach a very involved problem of genealogy; Urso

d'Abetot, the brother, was the heir general, but there seems no evidence that either Rufus or Henry I ever granted the Honour to him. It is true that Matilda, in 1141, by the above charter, granted Tamworth to William de Beauchamp as the grandson of Urso d'Abetot, but at that time it was in dispute between the Marmion and Beauchamp families, and she naturally supported the claims of her adherent.

There was no reason, save favour, why either Rufus or Henry I should grant the Honour of Tamworth to a collateral, for there was no descent from the original grantee; indeed, the policy of the latter King was to curtail, rather than to extend, individual power. Thus, as we have seen under similar circumstances, he withheld both Lincoln and Carlisle from the earldom of Chester, and he retained Hereford, Shrewsbury, Chichester, Pevensey, and numerous other places, which had originally been royal towns, when from one cause or another they fell into his hands.

Therefore, instead of adding the Honour of Tamworth to the already extensive possessions of Urso d'Abetot, Constable of Worcester, Henry restored it to its old position as a royal burg, and appointed Roger Marmion as Constable of the Castle. That in Henry's reign neither he nor his son Robert Marmion had as yet received a grant of the Honour itself seems clear from Henry's charter to the latter, conferring upon him free warren in Warwickshire, "and especially at Tamworth as his father had it [free warren]," which would have been unnecessary had the Honour been his. Moreover, Roger had died shortly before 1130, for the Pipe Roll tells us that Robert Marmion accounted for £176 13s. 4d. "as relief for the lands of his father," and as the entry and one or two others

concerning him are all under Lincolnshire, it is quite clear that his hereditary estates were in that county.

Throughout the reign of Henry I, therefore, Tamworth remained in the King's possession, and its ancient right of coinage was revived. The mint would be leased with the burg to its burgesses in their *firma*, and when it was not in operation its share of such *firma* would be returned to the burgesses. Its condition was, thus, similar to Dorchester, Colchester, and other mints as so often explained. But there seem to be only three types of the reign which can be appropriated to this mint, and the appropriation of one of them is not quite beyond question. Like Sudbury, Tamworth's glory had in Norman times departed, and, as we shall presently see, poverty had come in at its doors. It should be noticed that of these types the first, namely, 254 (1102-1104), perhaps immediately followed the lease of the mint to the burgesses. The second type, 265 (1126-1128), was that issued throughout the country upon the general revival of the coinage consequent upon the Great Inquisition of the moneyers at Christmas, 1125. The third type, 262 (1128-1131), was issued immediately before or exactly at the date of the King's visit to Northampton in 1131, when the King's advent would entail the journeying through the town of many barons to attend his court, and, if at no other time, coinage at Tamworth would then be profitable.

This story of the Tamworth mint is substantiated by the 1130 Pipe Roll. The instances of Dorchester, Colchester, Norwich, Oxford, Shaftesbury, Thetford, Wallingford, &c., prove that the return of a small portion of the *auxilium* to the burgesses meant that the mint was, or some of its moneyers were, dormant at that date. The *firma* was collected by the Sheriff, and included by him in

the county returns, therefore, if for any reason a burg was entitled to the return of some portion of it, the obviously better plan was to credit it out of the *auxilium*, rather than to deduct it from the *firma*, which was not separately entered in the accounts. In other words the allowance was a customary grant by the King's favour, and not a mere deduction (see under Thetford). Except, therefore, in the particular years of 1102-1103, 1126 and 1130-1131, there was probably no coinage at Tamworth "because of its poverty"; and so year by year, with those three exceptions only, 25s. would be returned to the burgesses "by the King's writ in pardon." It happens that in the 1130 Pipe Roll Tamworth was in arrear with the payment of its *auxilium*, and so we have the accounts for two years. In 1128-1129 the mint was not in operation, and so the 25s., which was about the usual contribution to the *firma* by a mint reduced to one moneyer, was returned "by the King's writ in pardon to the Burgesses because of their poverty." But in 1129-1130 the mint was issuing type 262, and so the *auxilium* is paid, in full, "into the Treasury and the Sheriff is quit." It will be noticed that there is no grant in either year out of the *auxilium* for that portion of the town which was in Warwickshire, hence we incidentally learn that the mint was on the Staffordshire side of the river; but that is only to be expected, for the main road to Tamworth was in that county, and so, following the rule in the instance of the City of London, where the principal gate was there would be the mint.

Coinage at Tamworth ceased, for ever, with the close of type 262 in 1131, except for a curious and temporary revival during the following reign. The moneyer in 1131 was B[RICH]MAER, and we find the name BRICHMAE

upon the succeeding type at London. His predecessor was LEFPINE, whose name also appears on the London coins immediately after it disappears from Tamworth. As in both of these cases the moneyer's name is absent from the London coins of the types then being issued at Tamworth, we may take it for granted that King Henry supplied his mint, which although farmed to the burgesses of Tamworth still retained its royal character, from the metropolitan mint.

COINS.

✠ IELDRED ON TPH ✠ HENRI REI 254

Spink and Son. **Pl. VIII. No. 2.** IELDRED is, of course, Ældred, and probably a form of Alfred, which name occurs on a Tamworth coin of the following reign.

✠ B[RICH]MAER ON TAME 262

Spink and Son. From the Peace Sale, 1894.
As to the moneyer, see before.

✠ LEFPINE : ON : TAMEPV ✠ hENRIEVS R 265

Hunterian Museum, Glasgow University. As to the moneyer, see before.

THETFORD (NORFOLK).

THEODFORD, THEOTFORD, TEDFORDIA; Domesday, TETFORD; Pipe Roll, TIETFORD.

"The Roman remains as yet discovered at Thetford are neither numerous nor important, though there is little doubt as to the identification of the site of the Roman town," says Mr. Dukinfield-Astley in a recent paper to the *Brit. Arch. Ass.* Although it is said to have been

once the capital of East Anglia, it does not enter the pages of the Saxon Chronicle until the year 870, when the Danes "took up their winter quarters at Thetford, and the same winter King Edmund fought against them, but the Danes got the victory and slew the King and subdued all the land." From this occupation probably dates the building of the great mound, now known as Castle Hill, as Mr. Astley demonstrates by a comparison with the similar mound at Norwich, which is constructed over the Roman Road and which is, at least, therefore post-Roman. So Danish did the population become in succeeding years, that King Edred, in 952, "commanded great slaughter to be made in the town of Thetford," but in 1004 it was nevertheless burnt by Sweyn the Dane, and it again similarly suffered in 1010. At the close of the Saxon era, however, its recovery had been so remarkable that it was one of the largest towns in England.

1078. About this time Thetford was chosen as the See of East Anglia.

1086. Domesday notes.—In the burg there were formerly, in the time of King Edward, 943 burgesses from whom the King had all customs. Now there are 720 burgesses and 224 houses empty. The whole of the burg was worth in the time of King Edward £20, by number, and for the office of the Ealdorman [*consul*] £10, by number. Now it pays to the King £50, by weight, and to the Earl £20, blanchéd, and £6, by number. It also now pays to the King £40 for the mint.

1094. The See of East Anglia is translated to Norwich.

1104. December.—Roger Bigod founds Thetford Priory, and in the charter we are incidentally told that King Henry was then visiting the town.

1107. Roger Bigod is buried in the Priory (Orderic.) As to this family see under Ipswich.

1119. Apparent date of William Bigod's confirmation charter of the Priory.

1180. Pipe Roll notes.—The Sheriff accounts for £10 for the *auxilium* of the burg of Thetford, but 60s. is returned

to the Burgesses by the King's writ. Godwine de Wichingeham (Whitlingham) accounts for 40s. on a plea of Richard Basset at Thetford. The monks of Thetford receive 40s. from the county returns. Under Suffolk, Fulchard, Provost of Thetford, owes £35 2s. 8d. on a plea of Geoffrey de Clinton.

Our earliest coins upon which the name of Thetford appears commence with the reign of Edgar, and after an uninterrupted sequence, save here and there a missing type, terminate during the first issue of Henry II.

Thetford was always a royal mint, and the passage in Domesday tells us that although the Earl had the *tertius denarius* from the *firma* of the burg, the King alone had that of the mint. But what is more important is the wording. "It [the burg] now pays to the King £40 for the mint." This means that the burgesses farmed the mint and paid a separate *firma* for it, and consequently it was unnecessary to set out the names of Lagemen or tenants *in capite* responsible for its rent, as at Lincoln and Oxford; for the whole of the burgesses were its lessees. No such names therefore are given us at Thetford.

It is difficult to understand why the burg should have been so heavily assessed for its mint, as, although the latter was very prolific in the early years of its existence, there were, after allowing for changes during the currency of a type, certainly not more than four moneymen here at the date of Domesday. Yet to recoup the burgesses for their rent alone, if only the legitimate profit of sixteen pence halfpenny was made upon every 240 pence coined (see page 11), necessitated the enormous output for those days of 139,636 pennies per annum. It is true that the more prolific mint of Lincoln paid £75, but no such figures as these are ever brought forward in the days when the Pipe Rolls furnish us with current records, and it is

justifiable to suggest boldly that they do not represent the permanent *firma* of the mint, but certain annual instalments, which were being paid by the burgesses for the purchase of the lease of the mint from the King; just as in the 1130 Pipe Roll the citizens of London paid 100 marks that they might elect their own sheriff—or, in other words, for their charter to hold their city at a *firma* of £300. (See page 284.)

If Thetford was to pay £40 a year, why should the burgesses in the 1157 Roll be allowed an abatement from their *firma* of only 40 shillings, because the mint had been deprived of two of its four moneyers, and afterwards £4 per year because the four moneyers were no longer in being? From these inferences it is manifest that the permanent *firma* of the mint was £4. Moreover, if we take Domesday as a whole, and, when a fine is payable on a change of type, average it over the two or three years of the currency of a type, we find that in most cases the *firma* of a mint was equal to about £1 per year from each moneyer. In the other cases, therefore, where a large sum is mentioned, it is now suggested that the burgesses or grantees of the mint were paying a fine for their charter of the privilege.

Whatever was the *firma* of the mint at the date of Domesday, it was only £4 in the reign of Henry I, as, it is submitted, the following evidence will prove. The *Dialogue of the Exchequer* explains that where there was a nominal fixed payment of which the whole or part had been remitted, the Sheriff entered the full amount in his accounts, but on production of the King's writ the balance was accepted, and a note of the writ entered for the remainder. Such a writ might be either general or special, and if general it was produced year after year by the

grantee whenever required ; in fact it operated as a charter. We have seen that the *firma* of the Thetford mint was, according to Domesday, tacked on to the *firma* of the burg, and both were paid by the citizens ; we know that the mint ceased to exist—probably because the privilege was withdrawn by the King—at some time in the reign of Henry II, and we have numismatic evidence that the original number of moneyers was four. Hence, after the mint was discontinued, when the burgesses paid their rents they would deduct the share of the mint by production of the King's writ ; so we have only to refer to the later Pipe Rolls to find what that share was. We will take the third year of King John, because it happens to tell us what the original number of moneyers was, viz., *Et in defectu IIII Monetariorum de Tetford* £4, which means that, as the four moneyers of Thetford were no longer there, the burgesses produced their writ and were allowed a remittance of £4 from their *firma* as representing the rent of the old mint. Turning to a Roll nearer to the reign of Henry I, namely, for the fourth year of Henry II, the similar entry, but for only half the amount, is, "*Et in defectu Monetariorum de Tetford* 40s.," which shows that only two of the four moneyers were then in office, and that as two had been withdrawn, half of the *firma* of the mint was remitted. This exactly tallies with the evidence of our coins, for there are altogether only three names on the Thetford coins of the entire reign, and therefore, after allowing for a change, only two at any one time. This is again proved by the fact that the Roll of his fourteenth year tells us that there were only two moneyers here then, namely, William FitzDerewater and William de Wicklewood (Norfolk)—the "WILLELM" on the coins.

Bringing all these arguments to bear upon the reign of Henry I, we must infer that the mint was in the hands of the burgesses, that its *firma*, as paid by them, was £4, and that the nominal number of moneyers was four. As a royal mint worked by the burgesses we should therefore expect to find a complete, or nearly complete, series of types upon its coins, and this is borne out by the fact that of the fifteen types of Henry's reign we have, to-day, no fewer than twelve in evidence of the Thetford mint. But, after allowing in one or two instances for a change of moneyer during the currency of a type, it is quite clear that instead of there being four moneyers in office, there was only one during the whole of the reign. This is proved by a passage in the 1130 Pipe Roll, and, conversely, the fact explains the passage. Unfortunately, as so often remarked, we have only one Roll preserved of the reign, or no doubt a similar entry would appear in all. It is, "The same Sheriff returned an account of [£10 for] the *auxilium* of Thetford : [he paid] into the Treasury £7 : and [allowed] in pardon by the King's writ to the Burgesses of Thetford 60 shillings ; and they are quit."

This, of course, means that instead of paying £4 for their mint, the burgesses had produced the King's writ by which the number of moneyers had been reduced from four to one, at a time, and so a proportionate allowance was made in the *firma* of the mint. Hence the Sheriff remitted £3 as representing the three moneyers in abeyance, and the burgesses, in their *auxilium*, paid £1 for the still remaining moneyer in office. That the passage refers to the *firma* of the mint is proved by similar entries under Dorchester, Colchester, Norwich, Oxford, Shaftesbury, Tamworth, Thetford, Wallingford, etc., and the reduction

in the number of moneyers probably occurred at the date of the transfer of the See of East Anglia from Thetford to Norwich in 1094.

According to Ruding, "in the reign of William I, Turstan or Thurstan, of Thetford, and Ralf, his son, were mint masters (moneyers) here." He quotes "The History of Norfolk," i. 469, as his authority, which, after describing a coin of William I as reading "OD . ON ÐEODFOVRD," continues: "At this time Turstan, or Thurstan of Thetford, and Ralf, his son, were mint masters here." The latter statement is evidently from a record, because the coins would not give the relationship of Ralf to Thurstan, but as there are, so far as can be ascertained, no coins of either of the Williams bearing the name of OD . THVRSTAN or RALF, it is probable that a line, referring to the coins of Henry I, Stephen, and Henry II, has been omitted; for ODE appears on the Thetford coins of Henry I and Stephen, RAWLF on those of Stephen, and TVRSTAN on those of Henry II. Perhaps the missing record was not quite clear as to whether Thurstan or Ralf was the son, describing them, *e.g.*, as "father and son," for it would seem as if their relationship ought to be reversed.

COINS.

✠ABERRAND : ON : TE ✠HENRI REX 266

Fitz-William Museum, Cambridge. Pl. IV.,
No. 6. From a cast supplied by Mr. F.
Jenkinson. *Obv.*—An additional star at the
end of the legend. *Rev.*—The letter T is
similar to that on LIFNOÐ's coin below.

[✠ABE]RANT O[N : T]E ✠HENR. . . . 252

Lincoln and Son.

✠ALVS . . TETFOR ✠HENRI RE 252

British Museum. Engraved, Hawkins, 252.
The Anglicised form ACE appears upon St.
Edmundsbury coins in the following reign.

✠ALRA . . ON . ETF: ✠h RE 262

Watford find. The moneyer's name is probably ALRAND, and a later form of ABERRAND.

✠IEHIEIE ON DTI ✠HENRI RIEK 251

Sale, July, 1890. The moneyer's name is queried, and no doubt represents ASCHETIE for Anchitel.

✠ASCHETFE . N:TET: ✠hENRIEVS: REX AN IV

British Museum. Pl. V., No. 8. Engraved, Ruding, Sup. I., 6. From Sir Robert Cotton's collection.

✠ASCHETIE ON TETFO ✠hENRIEVS R: 265

British Museum. 19 grs. Engraved *Num. Chron.*, 2nd ser. xx., 11, 18. From the Montagu, 1897; Whitbourn, 1869, £2 1s. Od.; and Sharp, 1883, £6 17s. 6d., Sales. But erroneously read STANFO, and the mark illustrated *Num. Chron.* N.S. xx. 11, 19, was probably accidental.

✠ASCHETIE . . ThTFO 265

Richardson-Currer Sale, 1862.

✠BAND ON DTF ✠HENRI RI 254

J. Verity. From the March, 1866, and Boyne, 1896, Sales. The A in the moneyer's name is composed of two uprights, as described on page 43. It is probably a contraction for Brand or possibly Brantoth; see later.

✠BEAND ON DET ✠HENRI REX 254

Christmas Sale, 1864. The moneyer's name is probably an error for BRAND.

✠BRHTOD ON DTF ✠HENRI R 254

Capt. R. J. H. Douglas. Pl. II., No. 7. The moneyer's name is for Brantoth, or possibly Brihtnoth.

✠ENGELRAM ON T ✠HE . RIC . . R . . 264

Sir John Evans. An Ingleran de Abern received 7s. 6d. from the County returns of Suffolk in the 1130 Pipe Roll, and an Engelram witnessed the foundation charter of Horton Priory.

✠GODPINE ON DEF ✠HE . RI REX 254

Sir John Evans. This is probably the Godwine who coined here in the previous reigns, and was possibly father of the next.

✠GODPINE : ON T[ET]FO ✠HENRI REX 267

Sir John Evans. Pl. IV., No. 2.

✠GOD . . . E : ON : TETFO ✠HENRIVS R : 262

British Museum. This is probably the Godwine de Wichingeham who, in the 1130 Pipe Roll, is fined 40s. at Thetford on a plea of Richard Basset (the King's Justiciary), and it accounts for his name not appearing on any later type.

✠GODP . . . ON TETFO 262

Fewkes Sale, 1887.

✠LIFNÐ ON ÐEǷT ✠HENRI REX 253

Sir John Evans. Pl. II., No. 12. These old-fashioned Saxon letters Ð and T only occur on one or two coins of this reign. See ABERRAND, above.

✠NE DEF : ✠HENRIC REX 267

Hunterian Museum, Glasgow University. Engraved, Ruding, Sup. II., 1, 6. The letters on the reverse are, however, very indistinct; but a moneyer, NEEOLL, coined here in the previous reign.

✠ODE : ON : TETF . R ✠h . NR . L : 255

J. Verity. From the Pearce Sale, 1898. As to this moneyer, see before. He was probably the ODE who coined at St. Edmundsbury in the previous type. Under Suffolk, in the 1130 Pipe Roll, an Odo fitz Odo de Dommartino pays succession fees for his father's property.

✠OD[E : ON : TETF]O[R]D ✠HEN . . . 255

Watford find.

. . . . ON : TE . F NRIL : 255

A. H. Sadd.

✠STAN . . ON : T . ✠HEN . . . EX 256

British Museum. Pl. III., No. 6. Engraved, Hawkins, 256. The moneyer's name was, perhaps, STANCHe.

✠STANCHe : ON : 255

Watford find. 2 specimens.

Specimens.—Wakeford, 1879; Kirby, 1888; Lord Grantley, 1894, Sales 251

Webb, 1898, Sale 255

The coin described on page 303 as ONTEFT ONN LVN of type 267 may, possibly, be a Thetford coin.

WALLINGFORD (BERKSHIRE).

WELINGEFORD, WEALINGAFORD; Domesday, WALINGEFORD;
Pipe Roll, WARENGEFORD.

The name of Wallingford is, perhaps, derived from the British *Guallen-ford*, and as such has been handed down to us, in almost unbroken sound, as descriptive of the ford near the ancient Roman camp. It is believed to have been an early fortress of the Saxons, and in their time it suffered severely at the hands of the Danes. Upon one occasion, in 1006, the Saxon Chronicle tells us, "Then went they to Wallingford, which they burned entirely . . . and carried their booty to the sea, for there might the men of Winchester see an army daring and fearless as they went by their gates towards the coast, and brought themselves food and treasure over fifty miles from the sea." But the burg rose from its ashes, and at the time of the Conquest was a flourishing and populous town under the Saxon Wigod, Thane of Wallingford.

1086. Domesday notes.—In the burg of Wallingford King Edward had 8 virgates of land and 276 houses paying £11 as rent service. The inhabitants also rendered service of transit, by horse or by water, within a prescribed radius, and various military customs. Now, the customs in the burg are the same as formerly, but there are 18 fewer houses [paying service to the King], for 8 had been destroyed for the castle, "the moneyer has one free so long as he makes the money," and the remainder are exempt for reasons given. From these 18 houses the King has no customs. King Edward had 15 acres, in which resided his house-carles. Milo Crispin has these, though it is not known how. The various feudatories of the Crown are mentioned, amongst whom Milo Crispin holds 51 houses in the district.

In the time of the Confessor Wallingford was assessed at £30, later at £40, now at £60, but nevertheless it pays as *firma* £80.

1107. Death of Milo Crispin. (Florence.) His daughter (some authorities say, his widow) Matilda, married Brian Fitz-Count. Matilda, the wife of Milo, was the daughter of Robert d'Oilli and granddaughter of Wigod, Thane of Wallingford, and through her descended the constablenesship.
1126. Waleran, Earl of Mellent, is imprisoned at the castle. (Orderic, Sax. Chron.)
1128. Brian Fitz-Count and the Earl of Gloucester hold the audit of the exchequer at Winchester, and negotiate the marriage of the Empress Matilda.
1180. Pipe Roll notes.—Brian Fitz-Count accounts for the *firma* of Wallingford at £53 10s. 0½d., of which he pays into the Treasury £39 13s. 4d. *blanched*. Also for the *auxilium* of the burg at £15, respectively for the current and two preceding years, but in each instance it is remitted "by the King's writ in pardon to the Burgesses of Wallingford because of their poverty." He owes £146 13s. 4d. for the office and for part of the lands of Nigel d'Oilli. [The office was perhaps the constablenesship of Wallingford Castle, probably held by Nigel (after the death of Milo) as uncle to Matilda Crispin.]

We have coins bearing the name of Wallingford of the reigns of Athelstan, Eadwig, and of all the succeeding Saxon kings, but the mint was declining in importance; for although in the reign of Ethelred II we can trace the names of half a dozen moneyers at a time, upon the coins of the Confessor we find that of but one.

Domesday is unusually explicit in its returns for Wallingford, but the entries which are of importance to our subject are those concerning the *firma* of the burg and the moneyer. In the time of the Confessor the *firma* was £30, but later, probably soon after the Conquest, it was raised to £40, and, in 1086, to £60, but nevertheless it actually paid £80. Thus the burg was farmed by the King to the burgesses, and as there is no separate return from the mint, we may assume that the latter was in

their hands also, and its rent included in their *firma*. The entry that the moneyer has one house free from rent service so long as he makes the money curiously confirms the fact that our coins of Edward the Confessor, Harold II, William I and II, after allowance has been made for changes during the currency of a type, demonstrate that a single moneyer was usually, and that there were never more than two moneyers, at that time in office at Wallingford. But the entry suggests more than this; for it would seem that by ancient custom the royal moneyer, or moneyers, held their houses free and that now, when the moneyer had been transferred to the burgesses, he retained his privileges. Moreover, it also implies that already the mint had ceased to be constantly worked, and so a provision was inserted in the Survey that the privilege was only to be enjoyed whilst it was so in operation. The result of this would be that when the burgesses paid their *firma* in full the moneyer was free, but when the mint was not in operation, and the annual value of their dies was therefore returned to them, the moneyer had to contribute to the King's usual customs.

Between the date of Domesday and that of the 1130 Pipe Roll some calamity must have befallen the town. In 1086 Wallingford was evidently in a condition of prosperity, for its *firma* has been more than doubled since the time of the Confessor, and it was the principal town in its county, but in 1130 its *firma* has (unless the entry concerns only a half-year's return) been reduced to one-half, it had owed two years' *auxilium*, and the whole for the three years is returned to the burgesses because of their poverty. Whatever this calamity was, our coins suggest that it occurred in 1101 or 1102; for during the reigns of William I and II coinage had been

continued during the issue of nearly every type, and upon Henry's accession type 251 (1100-1102) duly appears. But now there is a gap of nearly a dozen years, and, in estimating the probabilities of its cause, the coincidence of Duke Robert's invasion of the district, in August, 1101, cannot be ignored. Domesday records, under Wallingford, that when the King raised an army a soldier was supplied and equipped from every five hides of land in the county, and if anyone was summoned but failed to join the army, the whole of his land was forfeited to the King. Hence we may be justified in assuming that the men of Wallingford did not take the field for the King in his emergency, and that when the crisis was passed he remembered, and punished, their desertion. This is the more probable in view of the fact that a similar incident would seem to have occurred in the neighbouring city of Oxford, where Nigel d'Oilli was castellan, uncle to the wife of Milo Crispin, castellan of Wallingford.

In 1112-1114, however, the mint is re-opened with type 267; no doubt for the purpose of supplying the demand for the dowry of the Princess Matilda upon the occasion of her first marriage in January, 1114. We next find it in evidence on type 264 (1116-1119), which, perhaps, marks the collection of the aid for the marriage of Prince William early in 1120, and, finally, type 265 (1126-1128) appears to represent the dowry of Matilda's second marriage in 1128. The occasions, therefore, upon which these three types were issued, exactly fulfil the conditions of a mint which, "because of the poverty of the burgesses," was no longer a profitable commodity.

Coinage at Wallingford so far as the reign of Henry I is concerned ceases with type 265 (1126-1128), and as we have so often seen, the invariable condition when the 1130

Pipe Roll tells us that the *auxilium* was returned to the burgesses, was that, for the particular year at least, the mint was closed. In this case the whole of it was remitted, and so it is impossible to say how much represented the value of the mint, for the greater would include the lesser; but it is clear that the burg was in an impoverished condition and unable to pay its way, so the demand for an exchange and a currency at Wallingford would then be small indeed. The arrears and the remission of the *auxilium* date from the year between Michaelmas, 1127, and Michaelmas, 1128, and so type 265 (1126-1128) was probably the last type issued.

That the mint, although still retaining its royal character, was in the hands and under the direction of the burgesses, is proved by a writ of the 23rd year of Henry III directing the bailiff and burgesses to choose four persons of the most trustworthy and prudent in their town for the office of moneyers and for the keeping of the King's mint at Wallingford, to do what by ancient custom was to be done in that place (Madox). The writ suggests that the coinage had then, as so often occurred in Henry I's reign, been allowed to lapse, and this is borne out by the coins. Immediately after its date, however, a temporary revival occurred; but shortly afterwards the mint was finally closed.

Not only is Wallingford closely connected with Oxford geographically, but its Saxon and Norman history is almost identical. Wigod, the Saxon thane, held both towns, and his daughter and heiress married Robert d'Oilli. Their daughter Matilda married Milo Crispin, who in her right received the Constablership of Wallingford. After his death, according to an Exchequer record, Henry, exercising his privilege of guardianship, bestowed her in

marriage to Brian Fitz-Count; but in view of the fact that Milo died in 1107 and Fitz-Count does not appear in history until at least twelve years later, it is more probable that Brian married a daughter and sole heiress of Milo and Matilda, of the same name as her mother. This would allow for the succession, meanwhile, of Nigel d'Oilli as surviving brother of Robert d'Oilli to the constablership of Wallingford, an office he probably held until his death, *circa* 1128. It is therefore not surprising that most of the moneyers of Wallingford in Norman times also coined at Oxford, and this brings us to what may be a mere coincidence, but ought not to be passed unnoticed.

The Oseney Charter of 1129, already referred to under Oxford, mentions amongst those who "*infra burgum Oxenefordie terras tenuerunt*" the names of "*Godwinus monetarius et Brichticus monetarius*," and therefore they may be assumed to have been moneyers of Oxford, and the Brihtred and Godwine of Domesday. But there is no reason why they should not have been still living in the first half of the reign of Henry I, but transferred from Oxford to Wallingford to conduct the occasional coinage at the latter mint; for the name BRIHTIE occurs on our Wallingford coins of type 251 (1100-1102) and that of GODPINE similarly on type 267 (1112-1114).

The number of specimens of type 265 which exist of the Wallingford mint is remarkable, and is far in excess of those of the same type of any other town. It may be that there has been an unrecorded find of these coins in the neighbourhood which, as in the cases of the Tamworth hoard of William II's coins and of the Nottingham find of Stephen's coins, contained a larger proportion of specimens of the local mint because its money was naturally the more plentiful in the locality of deposit. But there is another

possible explanation of the fact. The date of the type was 1126-1128, and Malmesbury tells us, under the latter year, that none of the barons advised the marriage of the Empress Matilda to Geoffrey of Anjou, "or indeed knew of it except Robert Earl of Gloucester and Brian Fitz-Count." It was therefore kept secret from the rest of the barons until celebrated in 1128, and it is not improbable that the supply of the extra coinage, which would be necessary to meet the demand for currency that such an event entailed, was delegated to Brian of Wallingford, or at least foreseen and, to some considerable extent, provided by him at Wallingford.

COINS.

✠BRIHTIE ON PLIGL ✠HNRI . EX NL 251

British Museum. From the Montagu, 1896,
Sale, £6 5s. As to this moneyer, see before.

✠GODPINE : ON : PELIGLE 267

Bari find. As to this moneyer, see before.

✠OSVVLF : ON : PALL : ✠HENRIEVS R : 264

British Museum. Fig. M, page 68.

✠OSVLF : ON · PELLIGL ✠HENRIEVS R : 265

J. Murdoch. Pl. VI., No. 10. British Museum, from the Strawberry Hill collection; Bodleian Library, 2 specimens; J. S. Henson; P. Carlyon-Britton; Boyne Sale, 1896, from Halliburton Young Sale, 1869; Montagu Sale, 1886; Ditto, 1888, £6 5s.; Hendry Sale, 1883; Sale, March, 1866,

£4 12s.; Sale, April, 1873; Tyssen Sale, 1802.

♣OSVLF : ON : PELLIGL ♣hENRIEVS R : 265

British Museum. From the Bank of England collection; Hunterian Museum, Glasgow University; Bodleian Library; H. M. Reynolds, 22 grs., from the Martin, 1859, £2 2s. and Simpson Rostron, 1892, £6, Sales.

♣OSVLF : ON · PELLIGLI ♣hENRIEVS R : 265

Engraved Snelling, i., 22, and Withy and Ryall, ii., 17

Arnold Sale, 1877. 251

Dimsdale Sale, 1824. 265

There are certain imitations of the above coins of OSVLF of type 265 upon which, however, the moneyer's name is copied as OSWEEF, OSVEF or VSVEF, the first letter being so vague as to resemble a D, but open at the top. On the obverse the drapery to the left of the bust is in nearly horizontal folds instead of being curved as on Pl. VI., No. 10. There are also other deviations in the copies. We are indebted to Mr. L. A. Lawrence, in *Num. Chron.*, 3rd ser., x., pp. 42-47, for the discovery and remarkable demonstration of the spuriousness of these fabrications.

WAREHAM (DORSETSHIRE).

WEAREHAM, WERHAM, WAERHAM, WARRAM; Domesday and Pipe Roll, WARHAM.

Wareham was, doubtless, a town in Celtic times, but our historical knowledge of it seems to commence with the burial of King Beorhtric in 800. In 876 it fell a prey

to the Danish invaders, and in later years few towns were so subject to their incursions. Nevertheless, throughout the Saxon period, Wareham maintained its ancient importance; for it was not until it was devastated at the hands of the Conqueror, in 1067, that its prosperity permanently suffered.

1086. Domesday notes.—In Wareham, in the time of King Edward, there were 143 houses in lordship of the King. This town rendered service to the King and paid geld for 10 hides, namely, 1 mark of silver to the King's "housecarles" except for the customs relating to the *firma noctis*. At that time there were two moneyers, each of whom paid 1 mark of silver to the King [as a *firma*] and 20s. whenever the money was changed.

Now there are [in the King's lordship] 70 houses, and 73 have been entirely destroyed since the time of Hugh the Sheriff. In the part belonging to St. Wandrille there are 45 houses standing and 17 destroyed, and in the part belonging to different barons 20 standing and 60 destroyed. The Castle is, incidentally, mentioned.

1113. King Henry imprisoned Robert de Belême in Wareham Castle for life. (Rob. de Torigny.)

1130. Pipe Roll notes.—The Sheriff is allowed out of the County returns £18 5s. for the keep and 40s. for the clothing of Robert de Belême, and 2s. is paid to the carpenter for repairs at Wareham Castle. The various burghs of the County contribute £11 in *auxilium*.

King Athelstan, by his law, established a royal mint here and assigned to it two moneyers. Our coins of Wareham, therefore, commence in his reign, and are continued in those of all his Saxon successors.

Although Domesday explains that there were two moneyers at Wareham in the time of the Confessor, it is silent as to their existence in 1086; nevertheless, we know from our coins that the two moneyers were still in office.

It therefore follows that, as Wareham remained a royal burg, the mint was in the hands of the burgesses, and we learn from the Pipe Rolls of a century later that then, at least, the burg itself was farmed to them. It will be noticed that the account of this town in the Survey is, practically, identical with that of Dorchester, hence what has already been said of that mint will equally apply to Wareham and need not be repeated here. The only difference, however, is that Wareham was always the more important mint of the two, and therefore we have a few more types representing it under the Norman Kings.

But although, as Domesday tells us, more than half the town had been destroyed in the time of Hugh the Sheriff, *i.e.* in 1067, the mint, after a short interval, seems to have maintained its average output during the reigns of the two Williams, and it was not until after the accession of King Henry that it degenerated into an intermittent coinage which was soon to terminate in its extinction. Henry's first type, 251 (1100-1102), however, duly appears upon our Wareham coins. But it is the last type of what may be called its consecutive coinage. After this date there is a long interval, when no doubt the central royal mint at Winchester supplied the demand for currency in the greater portion of the south-west of England, and it is perhaps doubtful whether, but for subsequent historical events, the ancient mint of Wareham would not then have been finally absorbed into that of Winchester, as was the case later in the same century.

In 1113, says Robert de Torigny, "King Henry, returning to England, placed Robert de Belême in perpetual imprisonment at Wareham," and Huntingdon, in his letter to Walter, adds that "he died after a long imprisonment; of him whose fame had been spread every-

where, no one knew, after he was in prison, whether he was alive or dead, and report was silent of the day of his death." The earlier history of De Belême, the most powerful of Henry's enemies, either in England or in Normandy, has already been sketched under Chichester, pages 152-154, and it was not until November, 1112, that he fell, and that somewhat treacherously, into the King's hands. Henry at once brought, or, as the Saxon Chronicle has it, sent him to England, and we may rest assured that he placed him in the strongest and safest of his castles available for the purpose. He chose that of Wareham, and we may almost infer from that fact that it was under the immediate control of his staunch henchman Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, to whom at the same period was entrusted the custody of Duke Robert of Normandy. This meant a sudden change in the fortunes of Wareham, for now a large garrison was necessary to defend the castle from any possible attempt at Earl Robert's release, and no doubt the town benefited generally by the greater demand for money, and money's worth, entailed by the conversion of its castle into a state prison. The mint is simultaneously reopened, and types 267 (1112-1114) and 266 (1114-1116) are in evidence to-day of this special demand for currency. Similarly we have types IV. (1121-1123) and 262 (1128-1131), but the intermediate types were either never issued or have escaped discovery. During the issue of type 262 (1128-1131), we know that De Belême was still alive, for the cost of his keep and clothing are recorded in the 1130 Pipe Roll; but as we may be certain that the following type 255, which closed the reign, was never issued at Wareham—for otherwise, in the multitude of its specimens, some representative coin would have survived to us—and as in the troubled times of Stephen he would, if living,

have at least been mentioned by historians, which he is not, we may hazard the suppositions that his death occurred in the year 1131, that the garrison was reduced, and that the mint was then closed.

With regard to the appropriation of the coins assigned to this mint no difficulty arises in the case of those of the moneyer DERLINE, for on type 267 (1112-1114) he uses the form PARhA; and the same may be said of type 262, which has PARh. Moreover, according to the Winton Domesday, *circa* 1116-1119, Wigot DELINC then held certain land at Winchester which ALESTAN the moneyer had held in the time of the Confessor, see page 458. But the moneyer SPERhAVOE uses PA and PAR only, which would stand equally well for either Wareham or Warwick, and in such cases almost the only resources of appropriation are in the identification of the moneyer. *Sperhavoc* is pure Anglo-Saxon for the Sparrow-hawk, and, as a name, is probably a corruption of *Sperhavocere*, the Sparrow-hawker, *i.e.* the Falconer. As such, the name is of rare occurrence either upon our coins or in our charters, and so far as a careful search has disclosed it is not known in relation to Warwickshire. Upon the coins of Winchester, however, with which mint that of Wareham was always closely connected, the name of a moneyer "SPERAFVE" appears in the reign of Canute. But the name is brought home to Wareham itself in our mediæval records, for a family of SPERHAWK was settled there, and a charter of the second year of Henry V discloses that *John Sperhawk* was the then rector of Holy Trinity Church, Wareham.

COINS.

✠DIRLI6 : ON : PARhA

267

Bari find.

WARWICK.

WARENGWIC, WARRINGWIC, WARVIC, WERWIC; Domesday and Pipe Roll, WARWIC.

It is improbable that the natural strength of the situation of this town lay neglected until the year 915, when, according to the Saxon Chronicle, Ethelfleda built the burg at Warwick. What she constructed was, doubtless, the existing mound, for she had probably recovered from the Danes a town, or its remains, already of some antiquity.

But Warwick plays little part in the history of Saxon England, for in later times its fame followed upon, rather than contributed to, the renown of its Earls.

1086. Domesday notes.—In the burg of Warwick the King has 113 houses within his lordship; and [certain] barons, whose names are given, have 112, from all of which the King has his taxes. In addition to the above there are 19 burgesses in the burg who have 19 houses with *sac* and *soc* and all customs and so held them in the time of King Edward. Four houses were destroyed for the site of the Castle. The returns of the burg are included in the fees of the county, but it also contributes 6 sextaries of honey *i.e.*, a sextary for 15 pennies, out of a total of 24 of the greater measure from which the Earl of Mellent has 6 sextaries and 5s. The custom of Warwick was, that when the King raised an army for land service 10 burgesses went from Warwick on behalf of all the others, and if any one was summoned but did not go he compounded for 5s. to the King; but if for service against the King's enemies over the sea they sent to him either 4 "*batsueins*" [A.-S. *batswan*=boatswain] or £4 of pennies. In the time of the Confessor the *firma* of the burg and the *tertius denarius* of the pleas of the shire were in the King's hands.

1100. "The dissensions at Henry's accession were allayed, chiefly through the exertions of Henry, Earl of Warwick, a man of unblemished integrity with

whom he had long been in the closest intimacy." (Malmesbury.) He was the younger brother of Robert, Earl of Mellent, and, later, of Leicester.

The Earl witnesses Henry's coronation charter.

- 1101. Is faithful to him during Duke Robert's invasion (Malmesbury), witnesses the charters to Norwich at Windsor, to Colchester and to Lewes. (Monasticon.)
- 1103. Witnesses the charters to the Abbey of Jumièges at Winchester, and, probably in this year, that of Bec-Hellouin. (Docts. of France.)
- 1108. Witnesses the foundation charter of St. Andrew's, Northampton. (Monasticon.)
- 1114. Witnesses the charter to Hyde Abbey at Barnham, Sussex. (Monasticon.)
- 1123. June 20th. Date of his death. (Dugdale.) But this date is at variance with that assigned by Mr. Round to the next charter; 1119, as given in the Annals of Winchester, is probably correct.
- 1123. April 15th. He is succeeded by his eldest son, Roger, who, as Earl of Warwick, witnesses the charter to Plympton Priory. (Mr. Round's *Feudal England*, p. 484.)
- 1125. Earl Roger, in Normandy, witnesses the charter to Reading.
- 1130. Pipe Roll notes.—The Earl accounts for £72 16s. 8d. and two war-horses for his forestry or county rights [*cervorum*], which, with various other items, suggests that he had not yet paid off his succession dues. He receives revenue from the returns of several counties, and his mother, Margaret, "Countess of Warwick," is often similarly mentioned.
- 1131. September 8th. Earl Roger attends the council at Northampton and witnesses the charter to Salisbury.
- 1143. The Countess Margaret, widow of Earl Henry, joins in a charter to Bec-Hellouin (Docts. of France). She was still living at the date of the 1157 Pipe Roll.

The origin of the mint at Warwick probably dates from the time when the burgesses acquired the right to hold their town by military custom—namely, that of supplying ten burgesses, and doubtless their followers, to the King's army against the Danes. As, therefore, its

coins first appear in the reign of Ethelred II, we may assume that, from that time forward, the burgesses held their town as set forth in Domesday. Their mint had never a plentiful output, but it was continued in every reign from the time of Ethelred to that of Stephen.

As such it would not come under the scope of Domesday, for it was one of the privileges of the burgesses and was included in their *firma* and customs. No record, therefore, of its contribution to the returns of the burg are forthcoming either in the Survey, or, later, in the Pipe Roll. The creation, therefore, of the Earldom of Warwick could not disturb the ancient privileges of the burgesses which they held by prescriptive right, but would only divert a third of their *firma* and customs. In other words, the King could not grant to the Earl what was no longer his, and so the mint remained in the hands of the burgesses. It may, however, have fallen under the Earl's jurisdiction, and so become subject to the same rules of issue as if it had been his official prerogative; but its history during the reign of Henry I, as judged by the remarkable scarcity of its coins, is rather that of a civic mint, neglected, and gradually falling into disuse, than that of a mint under the immediate jurisdiction of one of the foremost Earls of the land.

In Henry's reign, apparently, its moneyers had already been reduced to one, and, so far as the accident of discovery has yet disclosed, it would seem that only two types were issued. The first is type 253 (1104-1106), which was, perhaps, issued in response to the special demand for currency in the Midlands occasioned by the King's Council at Northampton, in Lent, 1106. The second is type 265 (1126-1128), and no doubt met the monetary requirements of the red-letter year in the history

of Warwick when the young Earl Roger, who, as we have seen in the charters, already bore that title, returned from Normandy, probably with Henry, in September, 1126, and was invested with the feudal possession of the Earldom.

In assigning these two types to Warwick some explanation should be offered, because, although no doubt can be raised as to the latter, for the legend GODPINE ON: PARPIC: is unusually conclusive, the former reads OSMIER ON PER which might equally well be given to Wareham. The name of the moneyer, however, is not known in connection with the latter town, either upon its coins or its records, but it occurs on coins of Ethelred II, reading ON PÆRINE, which reading of course represents Warwick, and therefore in default of better evidence we may assume that the family was still at Warwick in the days of Henry I, even if the office of moneyer had not meanwhile been handed down from father to son. If, however, the reading on the second coin of the same type can be relied upon no argument is necessary; for PERI must represent Warwick.

So far as our numismatic knowledge extends we must infer that the mint at Warwick was closed in the reign of Stephen. Yet Ross in *Historia Regum Angliæ* (ed. Thos. Hearne, 1716), p. 194, speaking of the time of Richard I, says that he ascertained from certain documents [probably destroyed afterwards in the fire of 1694], in the chancery of St. Mary's Church, the names of the moneyers at that time [*temp.* Ric. I] and previously, such as Baldred, Everard, and others whose office was, without doubt, on the site of the later College. Ruding, in vol. ii., p. 224, quotes the passage, and Mr. G. F. Hill has kindly referred to the original authority in the British Museum

from which the above particulars are extracted. This reminds us of the story of Chatterton, but nevertheless it is true, for the name of the moneyer upon the latest coins we have of this mint is EVERARD—viz., of the reign of Stephen—and therefore, if we read “*tunc et ante*” not too literally, we have the remarkable instance of the preservation for some five hundred years of the name of at least one of the last of its moneyers in the local records of Warwick. As to Baldred we know nothing, but the identification of his colleague raises a suspicion that he, perhaps, coined here for a short period about the date of the accession of Henry II, when in consequence of the immediate suppression of the mint his coins were but few and as yet have not been discovered.

COINS.

✠GODPINE ON : PARPIC : ✠hENRIEVS R 265

W. J. Andrew. Pl, VII. No. 2. A Godwine
coined here in the previous reign.

✠OSMIER ON PER ✠hENRI REX 253

Warne Sale, 1889. Illustrated in the catalogue
and also in his “History of Dorset,” Pl. I.,
No. 15. As to the moneyer, see before.

✠OS PERI 253

H. P. Smith Sale, 1886. “ON PERI”
in the catalogue.

The specimen of type 255, queried to this
mint in the catalogue of the Clark Sale, 1898,
is the coin of Norwich reading ✠TOE [ON]
NORWIE.

WILTON (WILTSHIRE).

WILTUN, WILLETUN, WYLTON, WILTONIA ; Domesday,
WILTUNE ; Pipe Roll, WILTONA.

As far backward as we can trace the history of Wilton it was always a royal town, and as such it originally gave its name to the County. According to a charter of Ethelwulf, dated 854, the King held his court "*in palacio nostro quod dicitur Wiltun*," and here, in 871, Alfred fought his first battle, after his accession, against the Danes. In 1003, Sweyn, the Dane, "led his army into Wilton, and they spoiled the town and burned it." Afterwards for nearly a century, until united with that of Salisbury, it was the See of a bishopric, and its famous nunnery was the early home of two Queens of England, Edith, Consort to the Confessor, and Matilda of Scotland, Queen to Henry I.

1086. Domesday Notes.—"The King has from the burg of Wilton £50. When Hervey [the Sheriff] received it into his custody, it was paying £22." The holding of the Church of St. Mary at Wilton in the burg itself is worth £10 17s. 6d.

1130. Pipe Roll notes.—Certain burgesses, whose names will be found below, account for fines "upon a Treasury plea," but the greater part of the fines is remitted. The burgs in the County contribute 25s. for the previous year, and £17 18s. for the current year, as *auxilium*. The Church of St. Edith receives 41s. from the customs of estovers which Queen Matilda gave [to her old school] and 25s. 6d. from the fair, which the King and Queen had granted. The Sheriff pays [to the Bishop of Salisbury] 40s. as "toll of the Market at Salisbury, which pertains to the *firma* of Wilton [and] which the King gave to the Bishop of Salisbury inasmuch as the Queen had previously granted it to the Church of Salisbury."

Wilton was a comparatively prolific Saxon mint from the time of Edgar until the Conquest; it was a royal

mint, and seems to have usually employed three moneyers. This condition prevailed under William I until the time came when Herman, Bishop of Sherborne and Wilton, finally removed the joint See to Salisbury.

Whether the decline in the coinage was owing to this removal, or whether the same cause, such, perhaps, as the gradual decay of the burg, influenced the removal of the See and the cessation of regular coinage, is a matter of uncertainty, but it is evident that, coincidentally with such removal, the mint of Wilton discontinued its constant output, and afterwards, as already explained under Southampton, seems only to have issued its money when some special demand for currency would render such issue profitable.

As the mint is omitted from the Domesday returns it must either have been farmed to the burgesses in their *firma* or have been in private hands. But the former alternative was clearly the case as the King held the burg, and, therefore, no territorial lord could hold the mint. A writ of Henry III, however, which is almost identical with that quoted under Wallingford (page 434), proves the fact, for we know of no constitutional changes in the interim in the history of Wilton, and therefore the mint was in the hands of the burgesses.

Under Southampton, page 407, we have incidentally noticed the decline of the Wilton coinage, and that at the date of King Henry's accession it had already become a dead letter, save when some special demand for currency rendered it worth the while of the burgesses to obtain their dies from London and, perhaps, to borrow their moneyers from the central royal mint at Winchester. These occasions, so far as the reign of Henry I was concerned, were: (1) When at Whitsuntide, 1106, the King

held his Court at Salisbury, but some three miles away. This is represented by type 253 (1104-1106). (2) When the dowry for the Princess Matilda's marriage, January, 1114, was being collected throughout the Kingdom; and when the King returned with his army from Wales, probably through Wilton, to Portsmouth, where he embarked for Normandy on September 1st, 1114. Hence type 267 (1112-1114) appears. (3) When in 1129-30 the King was at Southampton and, probably, at Shaftesbury and Salisbury, which event accounts for type 262 (1128-1131).

With the exception of the first instance only one moneyer's name occurs on the types of this reign, although in earlier and also in later Norman times, when the mint was in operation, there were always two or more moneyers at Wilton. As we have seen above, the latest of Henry's types is that contemporary with the 1130 Pipe Roll, and the fact that we find the name of one only of the minimum number of two moneyers upon it suggests an explanation of an entry in the Roll, viz., that the moneyer who did not coin was fined for default. It would seem that in 1129 Ralph Basset, the King's Justiciary, had held an assize in the town, at which an inquiry had been made into the Treasury returns for the burg, and in consequence several of its burgesses had been amerced in large fines. It may be assumed that these burgesses held certain offices under the Crown, and that they had failed to carry out their duties or at least to make an adequate return through the Sheriff to the Treasury. They were perhaps responsible for the various customs, or even for the *firma* of the burg. But it appears that they had pleaded their inability to pay the fines because of their poverty, and this plea, when compared with the oft-repeated explanation of the very similar passages in connection with the

auxilium and the coinage, suggests that the burg itself was in an impoverished condition, and that therefore the various customs for which they were responsible could not be performed. Hence as the officials had not received the dues they could not pay the amercements, and the fines were in consequence reduced to merely nominal amounts. The following is a summary of the list, although it is always difficult in the County returns to distinguish which entries relate to a particular burg.

Name.	Original Fine.			Nominal Fine.	Cause of Remission.
	£	s.	d.	£	
Hubert of Wilton .	62	0	0	8	His poverty.
Atsor of Wilton . .	63	3	4	5	Ditto.
Thomas, the Moneyer	11	16	8	1	Ditto.
Robert Fitz Swein .	1	9	2	Nil	{ He is ill, and has nothing.

In the above list the name Thomas, the moneyer, is conspicuous for it discloses his office. As the name on the current type is Richard, we may assume that Thomas was the other moneyer, who failed to coin when the burgesses re-opened the mint in order to issue type 262, and that, therefore, he was fined; but as he evidently pleaded that he was too poor to pay the fees and to undertake the risk, his fine was reduced to the amount which, as before explained, seems to have been the nominal rent for a pair of dies. It is highly improbable that if amerced in his individual capacity he would have received any consideration, or that at a later date he would ever have been allowed to coin—as he subsequently was—and so we may take it that in his official capacity he represented the burgesses, and that his plea of poverty meant that the

small demand for currency would not support the cost of two moneyers at Wilton and that the town was too poor to employ or pay the fees for more than one. It is interesting to note that when the mint was again reopened upon the accession of Stephen, Thomas is one of the moneyers whose names appear upon its coins.

From other entries in the Roll it would seem that the county was in a very disturbed state, for many burgesses were punished for various offences and murder and robbery were prevalent throughout.

Coinage at Wilton was continued, with similar intervals, until the reign of Henry III.

COINS.

✠IEGELPARD ON PIL ✠HENRI REX 253

Spink and Son. Pl. II. No. 11.

✠BRVNIG : ON : PILTV ✠hENRIE : REX 267

British Museum. Fig. I, page 60, and Pl. VIII.
No. 6. From the Brice and Montagu, 1896,
£8, collections. The moneyer's name occurs
at Winchester in the previous reign.

✠RILARD ON : PILTVN ✠hENRIEVS R : 262

F. A. Walters. From the Allen Sale, 1898.
As to this moneyer, see before.

✠SIERLI ONPIL ✠HEN 253

Lincoln and Son. The moneyer was, probably,
the SIEPINE and SEPINE who coined here in the
previous reign, and, possibly, the SPEIN, father
of Robert Fitz Swein, before mentioned.

WINCHESTER (HAMPSHIRE).

WINTANCEASTER, WINCEASTER, WITTANCEASTER; Domesday, WINCESTER and WINTONIA; Pipe Roll, WINTONIA.

At the dawn of English history, Winchester, the *Venta Belgarum* of the Legions, was one of our principal cities, and the rectangular plan of its streets to-day is a survival of its Roman foundation. Under the year 643 the Saxon Chronicle tells us that Kenwalk, King of the West Saxons, commanded a church to be built at Winchester, in the name of St. Peter, and which, upon its completion, became the episcopal See of the West Angles. Winchester was the chief city of the Kings of Wessex, and as their government spread over the rest of the kingdom, it became the capital of Saxon England. As such it was the favourite meeting-place of the Witan, the centre of the Exchequer system, and the stronghold of the royal treasury. In 860 the city was stormed by the Danes, and in 1013 it submitted to Sweyn, but it seems to have suffered little at their hands, and at the date of the Conquest vied with London as the most prosperous city in the kingdom.

1086. Domesday notes.—Although Winchester is often incidentally mentioned, its returns are omitted from the Survey. As in the case of London it is suggested that a similar local record was at the time already in existence, but was lost prior to 1116, perhaps destroyed in the fire of 1102, for Henry I caused a new survey of the city to be made.

1100. At the date of Henry's accession the See had been vacant for nearly three years. The King, following the example of Rufus, immediately possesses himself of the royal treasure. He appoints William Giffard, his chancellor, Bishop of Winchester, but the bishop elect refuses consecration pending settlement of the controversy as to investitures.

August-September. Henry meets Duke Robert at Winchester preparatory to the treaty of peace.

1102. "A fire broke out in the centre of this city, which destroyed the royal palace, the mint, &c., and a great proportion of the inhabitants' houses." (Ruding, ii., 173.)

1103. Bishop William joins Anselm in exile. (Florence.)

1107. August.—Is consecrated by Anselm.

October 7.—Fall of the Cathedral Tower. (Annals of Winchester.)

1111. "The King commands that the new monastery, which stood within the walls of Winchester, should, under the direction of Bishop William, be rebuilt without the walls." (Florence.)

The Bishop, whether he wishes or not, has to give 800 marks to the King. (Annals of Winchester.)

1121. January 30.—Bishop William officiates at the King's second marriage. (Florence.)

1125. Christmas.—The great inquisition of the moneyers is held at Winchester. See pages 80 and 81.

1128. William Giffard, Bishop of Winchester, dies. (Annals of Winchester.)

1129. "Henry, the nephew of King Henry, son of his sister Adela, brother of Stephen . . . afterwards King, from being Abbot of Glastonbury became Bishop of Winchester." (Annals of Winchester.)

1130. Pipe Roll notes.—The sheriff accounts for the *auxilium* of the city at 114 shillings as arrears of the year 1127-28, £17 ls. 8d. as arrears of the year 1128-29, and £80 for the current year. The Guilds of the Cloth-weavers and Fullers are mentioned, and reference is made to the fact that the bishop had previously been Abbot of Glastonbury. Certain entries relating to moneyers will be detailed below.

1134. Bishop Henry fulfils the office of Legate in England. (Annals of Winchester.)

1135. At the King's death "an immense treasure had been accumulating for many years; his coin, and that of the best quality, was estimated at £100,000; besides which, there were vessels of gold and silver of great weight and inestimable value, collected [at the Winchester treasury] by the magnificence of preceding kings, but chiefly by Henry." (Malmesbury.)

1100-1135. When in England the King's Court was usually held, either, at Winchester or Westminster throughout the reign.

Coinage at Winchester must have originated long before the time when it became customary to add the place of mintage upon the money, for its name first appears on the coins of Alfred. Athelstan, by his Law, established six moneyers here, thus showing that the mint was already one of the most important in the Kingdom, and it maintained its royal character until its close in the reign of Henry III. We have specimens of it of the reigns of Athelstan and Eadwig, and of all the latter's successors to Henry III.

To meet the exigencies of the Dane-gelt, Ethelred II seems to have doubled the number of his moneyers at Winchester, but subsequently they were gradually decreased until, from a careful examination of the coins of the two Williams, after the usual allowances have been made for changes during the currency of a type, it seems certain that the number had then been restored to the original six.

This is important in view of the Survey, known to us as the "Winton Domesday," for, as we shall presently see, the study of numismatics will assist us in ascertaining its approximate date. This Survey comprises two distinct records which, except for the fact that they have been preserved together, have no more to do with each other than two Pipe Rolls would have if separated in date by some thirty years. The earlier of these two records is, as its introduction tells us, an inquest of the lands which used to pay land and burg tax to the King in the time of Edward the Confessor, and which the then King [Henry I], being desirous of ascertaining what King

Edward had held in lordship in Winchester, ordered to be made upon the oaths of the burgesses. An inquest was accordingly held by four score and six superior burgesses in the presence of William, the Bishop, Herbert, the Chamberlain, Ralph Basset, Geoffrey Ridel, and William de Pont-de-l'Arche. The later record, which, except for the purpose of incidental reference, does not now concern us, is an enquiry made by Bishop Henry in 1148 as to the lands of the Bishopric at Winchester.

King Henry's Inquest is undated and, although modern historians may have more closely ascertained its year, the writer is unaware of any nearer approximation than that of the Editors of Domesday, viz., some time between 1107 and 1128. If, therefore, the study of numismatics can throw light upon its true date it is but another proof of the historical value of our coinage.

The Inquest tells us that "in the market there had been five mints [*i.e.* moneyers] which were abolished by order of the King [Henry I]," and therefore, as we have seen that there were not more than six moneyers in Winchester at the death of Rufus this would only leave one moneyer in office. Such is exactly what the evidence of our coins discloses must have happened immediately upon Henry's accession; for upon his first type, 251 (1100-1102), the names of two moneyers appear, on his third, (his second being absent), 253 (1104-1106), that of one moneyer, on his fourth, 252 (1106-1108), the names of two, on his fifth, 256 (1108-1110), that of one, on his sixth, 257 (1110-1112), that of one; and so on up to his thirteenth type, which after allowing for the fact that the mint would, like the shrievalty, be farmed by the year to the favoured applicant, only accounts for a single moneyer at a time. On Henry's thirteenth type, 265

(1126-1128), some at least of the five moneyers must have been restored, for we find five names upon it, and on the following type the number exactly corresponds with the complement of six moneyers at Winchester. Therefore, as the Inquest was made whilst the five moneyers were still in abeyance, it must have been compiled after 1100, and before 1126. Another passage, however, materially shortens the period; it is that "the widow of WIMVND the moneyer now pays tax at 6d. for one house and no other customs and is at the hospital." Two Wimunds coined in the reign, doubtless father and son. We find the name of the former as WIMVND on coins issued at Winchester late in the time of William I, on those of William II, and on most of the types struck during the first half of the reign of Henry I, the latest being type 267 (1112-1114); therefore the date of the Inquest could not be earlier than 1112, for he was living in the autumn of that year. The second Wimund did not commence his coinage until after 1128, and therefore does not affect the question. So far this is direct evidence, but we may infer that the date must have been prior to 1121, when on type IV. (1121-1123) the name ENGELRAM appears. The name is unusual, and does not occur in the whole of this Inquest; hence Engelram could not have held any official appointment, or even been a tenant of the King's, when the Inquest was made. He continued to coin in the reign of Stephen, and consequently his name appears in the 1148 Survey, but its absence from the earlier roll is the more significant when we notice that prior to 1121 the office of moneyer had been held in various years by five moneyers, viz., WIMVND, GODPINE, AINVLF [Arnulf], SAIET, and AILPINE, and all of these names appear amongst the lists of the King's tenants. We may

therefore narrow the date to between 1112 and 1121. The identification of the above moneyers will be apparent from the following table, which includes some of the five moneyers of the Confessor's time whose office was vacant at the date of the Inquest.

Tenant under the Confessor.	Name on the Confessor's Coins.	Tenant of same property at date of Inquest.	Name on Henry I's Coins.
Alwine Aitardessone, the moneyer. Alwin	ÆLPINE . .	Godfrey de Colcha Chipping fitz Alwin	hIPiG and ChEPiG, hIPiNG (Stephen). —
Godwine Socche, the chief moneyer.	GODPINE . .	The Monks of St. Swithin's.	—
Sideloc	SIDELOE on Wareham coins of William I. See page 449.	The widow of Wimund, the moneyer.	PIMVND.
Andrebode, the moneyer.	ANDREBODE	Ruald fitz Faderlin.	—
Alward fitz Etard, "moneyer to King Edward."	ÆLPERD on Shaftesbury coins. See page 407.	Godwine and others	GODPINE.
Alestan, the moneyer	AÐESTAN .	WigotDeline	DERLINE on Wareham coins, 1112-1114. See page 441.
Brunstan Blachebiert, Brunstan.	BRVNSTAN .	Saiet Arnulf and Ulf.	SAIET AINVLF VLFPIE.
Brithmar " <i>Aurifaber</i> "	BRIHTMÆR .	Deria . .	—
Ceca	GODPINE-EE -OEA	Balvert . .	—
Alnod Stud	—	Odo, the moneyer	—

In the above list it will be noticed that only in two cases is the title *Monetarius* given to any of King Henry's tenants, and yet in five instances of the Confessor's tenants it occurs, and *Aurifaber* ("the goldsmith," but often used after a moneyer's name) makes the sixth. Hence we may infer that the title, like that of Sheriff, was only appended to the names of those who were actually in office during the current year, viz., in the one case that of the death of the Confessor, and in the other that of the date of the Inquest. The two instances in Henry's reign are (1) WIMVND, but as this occurs in the description of his widow, it merely suggests that he had died in office, (2) "Odo the moneyer"; Odo ought therefore to be the name on the current type, but it is as yet missing from our specimens. This is the more remarkable as every other name to which the title is appended, either in this Inquest or in that of 1148, can be identified upon our coins. When, therefore, we notice the further coincidence that within the limits of time to which we have now reduced the date of the Inquest, i.e. 1112, or more probably 1114, to 1121, there is a type missing also from the Winchester coins, namely, 264 for the years 1116-1119, we are almost justified in assuming that Odo's name would be found upon it, that it was the current type and that the actual date of the Inquest must be between Michaelmas 1116 and Michaelmas 1119.

Glancing, for a moment, at the internal evidence the Roll contains, we find that this date is within the broader limits it allows. Baldwin de Redvers is mentioned, and therefore the record could not be earlier than 1107, and was probably not prior to 1112, see pages 192-3. Assuming in another instance that the name Robert Maleductus represents Robert Malconduit, who was drowned in the

White Ship, 1120 would be the later limit of date; but as Geoffrey Ridel, before whom the Inquest was made, died in that year (Feudal England), further evidence is unnecessary.

To return to the date of Henry's accession. It is difficult to follow his object in suppressing the five moneyers, as it of course meant a considerable loss to his Exchequer, for Winchester was a royal mint. Their names, as taken from the coins of Rufus, were, probably, Ælfgærd, Æstan, Colbern, Edric and Lifwold, and as none of them appear to have subsequently coined elsewhere, it is possible that they were convicted of false coining and therefore punished. (Compare the contemporary event at Worcester, page 476.) But this would scarcely account for their offices remaining vacant, at so important a city as this, for so long a period, and therefore it is more reasonable to suppose that the following incident, in which, no doubt, the citizens were directly concerned, prejudiced the feelings of the King towards them from the outset, and that he deliberately crippled the prestige of their city until it sank to be but the second in importance in England. The facts remain that London under his encouragement finally assumed the foremost position and that Duke Robert's advance towards Winchester in 1101 seemed to point to a well-recognised expectation of support in that city.

1100. From the scene of the death of Rufus "Prince Henry lost no time in riding as fast as his horse could carry him to Winchester, where the royal treasure was kept, and imperiously demanded the keys from the keepers, as the lawful heir. William de Breteuil arrived at the same instant with breathless haste, for he anticipated Henry's deep policy and resolved to oppose it [in favour of Duke Robert]. . . . There was now a sharp contention between them and crowds flocked round them from all quarters; but the influence

of an heir present in person to claim his rights began to prevail. Henry, hastily seizing his sword, drew it . . . but the quarrel abated on one side and the other and, by a wise resolution to prevent a serious rupture, the castle with the royal treasures was given up to Henry." (Mr. Forester's Orderic.)

As a royal mint we should expect a complete sequence of Henry's types at Winchester, but the absence of type 264 has already been disclosed and only two others are missing. The first of these is 254 (1102-1104) and as the Annals of Winchester record that in 1102 "Winchester was burnt," and Ruding adds that "the fire broke out in the centre of the city and destroyed the royal palace, the mint, &c., and a great proportion of the inhabitants' houses," we can well understand why the coinage was temporarily discontinued. The second missing type is 258 (1123-1125, Christmas), and is that which caused the great Inquisition of the Moneyers at Winchester, at Christmas, 1125. Ruding, quoting the Annals of Winchester, tells us that all the moneyers [of England] were found guilty of the frauds imputed to them except three persons of that profession in this city" [Winchester], and, upon the authority of the History of Winchester, that, "to the above mentioned artists of Winchester was therefore committed the charge of making a new coinage to supply the whole kingdom." (See *ante*, pages 80-81.) But, unfortunately, the Annals of Winchester say nothing of the kind. What they do say is "All the moneyers of the kingdom except three were mutilated at Winchester," which is a very different story. In consequence of the absence in Normandy of the King and of nearly all the grantees of the chartered mints, it is probable that all the moneyers of the kingdom who were coining in type 258 did not represent more than a dozen mints.

Moreover there was then only a single moneyer in office at Winchester and if ever a coin of type 258 is forthcoming we may almost expect to find Odo's name upon it and the Inquisition would account for his final disappearance. It is true that there were still living in Winchester Engelram and Saiet who had coined on previous types, for they survived the Inquisition and subsequently coined; but as the moneyer seems to have been changed almost yearly, it is more probable that the missing Odo was in office at the time, and so convicted with the majority, than that Engelram and Saiet were amongst the three acquitted. The general calling in of the base money would account for the absence to-day of a Winchester coin of the type.

The Inquisition caused a general revival of coinage throughout the country, and so Henry restored to Winchester its six moneyers in 1126. Or at least he materially increased the number then, for five names appear upon its type 265 (1126-1128) and six upon 262 (1128-1131.)

This brings us to the Pipe Roll of 1130 in which two entries directly concern our subject. "Saiet the moneyer owes 278 marks of silver upon a plea of two dies." This is, of course, the SAIET of the Inquest and of types 252 (1106-8), 266 (1114-1116), 263 (1119-1121), 265 (1126-1128), and the current type 262 (1128-1131). His name also appears in the next type 255 (1131-1135), and in the reign of Stephen. This latter fact suggests that the entry cannot be the record of a fine, for in that case he ought to have lost his office, nor can it represent the fee payable for new dies, as the fees, according to Domesday, were usually a mark and a half. It would seem, therefore, to be the assessment for the purchase of two dies, *i.e.*, the offices of two additional moneyers at Winchester; and, curiously enough, on the next type, 255 (1131-1135) the number of

moneymen and therefore of dies is increased by two, for the number of moneymen is then represented by nine names, which doubtless meant eight at a time.

One of these dies Saiset appears to have given to his nephew Alfric, for the second item in the 1130 Roll is, "Alfric the nephew of Saiset accounts for 24 marks of silver for *falso cypho*, pays £4, and owes 18 marks of silver." This passage evidently puzzled the learned historian Freeman, for in his copy he has underlined and queried the word *cypho*. It may be that, as one of the King's goldsmiths, Alfric had supplied a *scyphus*, or chalice, light in weight, or that he had used a false measure; *cyphus* being sometimes used as a goblet of legal measure. Or—but this is perhaps scarcely more than conjecture—that as a moneyer he had used a false design, for, as explained in a similar instance on page 335, the word may be a graphical error for *typo* = a figure. It is possible that he had either used an obsolete die, and issued what we know as a "mule" coin, or perhaps that he had anticipated his own dies by using those of his uncle Saiset. But this fact we have, viz., that his name now first appears on type 262 (1128-1131), which is the current type. In view of his relationship to Saiset, and of the general custom amongst the moneymen, as explained on page 29, of retaining the office in their own families, and again of the presumed purchase by Saiset at this date of the right to two additional dies, there seems to be little doubt that Alfric, the nephew of Saiset of the Roll, was the same person as ALFRIC, the moneyer on the current type. But whatever his offence was, the entry against him must have been more in the nature of an amercement than of a fine, for his is, perhaps, the only instance in the Roll in which, under similar circumstances, a moneyer was subse-

quently allowed to retain his office. That he did so is rendered almost certain by the same name appearing on the following type, 255 (1131-1135).

At the same time that the right to two additional dies was, as contended, given to Saiet, it is probable that King Henry granted to the citizens of Winchester a charter, very similar in its character to those which he then gave to London, Norwich, &c., for Henry II and Richard I, in confirming it, used precisely the same formula, in excepting their moneyers from the privilege of refusing to plead without the walls of Winchester, as they did in their similar charters to those cities. See pages 284 and 333. This, as at London and Norwich, would not only account for the increased number of moneyers' names which we find on the Winchester coins of type 255 (1131-1135), but also for the grant of the two additional dies to Saiet. May we not, from this, assume that, like Godwin Socche in the days of the Confessor, Saiet, who had held office, intermittently, for many more years than any of his colleagues, was now the *magister monetarius*, or senior moneyer, of Winchester?

COINS.

♣ AILPARD ON PINCE	♣ hENRIEV	255
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Watford find. The moneyer continued to coin for Stephen.

♣ AILPARD ON PINE	♣ hENRIEVS	255
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Hunterian Museum; Benwell Sale, 1849.

♣ AILPINE ON PINE .	♣ hENRIE : REX	263
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F. E. Whelan. As to this moneyer, see before.

...LPINE ON PI... . hENRIEVS REX 262

Watford find. As to the obverse legend, see the London coin of RAPVLF of this type, p. 306.

✠AINVLF ON PINCE ✠hENRI . RE 252

Spink and Son. As to this moneyer, see before.

✠AINVLF ON PINCE ✠hENRI REX 252

Spink and Son.

✠A.....N PI...E: ✠h...BI REX 252

L. A. Lawrence. 20 grs.

✠....LF: ON: PINCES . hENRI... R: 265

P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton; S. Smith; Sale, January, 1860. This moneyer was probably son of the above. Or, perhaps, the letters stand for VLF.

✠.....F ON PIN ✠hENRIEVS 255

Benwell Sale, 1849.

✠ALFR[I]E ON PIN ✠hENRIEVS R 262

J. Verity. As to this moneyer, see before.

✠AL..... ON PIN ✠hENRIEVS R 262

Engraved, Withy and Ryall, II., 8. The engraver has misread the moneyer's name as ALEN. See page 117.

✠ALFRIEVS . . PINE ✠hENRIE . . 255

Watford find ; P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton.

✠ALFRIEVS : ON : PIN ✠hENRIEV : 255

British Museum ; Royal Mint collection, from
a reading supplied by Mr. Hocking.

✠ALFRIE : ON : PINEE : ✠hENRIEVS : 255

Watford find ; British Museum ; Peace Sale,
1894, corrected ; Spink and Son.

✠AL PINES ✠hEN . . . VS 255

Royal Mint collection, per Mr. Hocking.

✠ALFRIE ON PINEE ✠hENRIEVS 255

Lincoln and Son ; A. H. Sadd.

✠ALFRIE ON PIN ✠hENRIEVS : 255

British Museum ; Benwell Sale, 1849.

✠ALPOLD : ON : RINE ✠hENRIEV : 255

British Museum. This moneyer continued to
coin for Stephen. Compare the R for P in
RINE with the P in PIMVNT on **Pl. III.**
No. 4, where the base line of the I gives an
appearance of R to the P, and which
accounts for the name having often been
read RIMVNT.

✠E[NGE]LRAM : ON P : ✠hENRIEVS RE IV

S. Page. As to this moneyer, see before.

✠ENGELRAM ON PIN 265

Durrant Sale, 1847, £3 1s.; Bergne Sale, 1873,
£3; Wakeford Sale, 1879, £4.

✠E[NGELRAM] ON : PIN :: .hENR 262

Watford find. This moneyer's name is assumed
from the length of space. As to the orna-
ment of pellets, see page 91, and a similar
instance below under LEFPINE.

✠GODPINE ON PIN ✠HNRI R ANG 251

J. Rashleigh. From the Martin Sale, 1859,
£3 3s. Engraved, Olla Podrida, page 44.
As to this moneyer, see before.

✠GODPINE ONPIN ✠hENRI REX 253

Sir John Evans. Pl. II., No. 13.

✠GODPINE : ONPINE : ✠hENRII REX 257

Hunterian Museum. Pl. III., No. 9. Obverse,
three annulets on the drapery of the breast.

✠GODPINE . ON . PINEE : ✠hENRIIVS REX 267

Sir John Evans. Pl. IV., No. 3.

✠GODPINE ON PINEE 267

Bari find.

✠GOTPINE : ON : PINEE . ✠hENRII REX 266

Spink and Son, 20 grs. From the Warne,
1889, and Montagu, 1896, £4 10s. Sales.
Mr. F. Spicer has a rubbing of a brass

fibula, said to have been found in the City of London, which is an exact representation of this reverse, both as to type and legend, including, in the latter, even the colons of division and the T instead of D, save that the last five letters are GLOEL for Gloucester.

✠GODPINE ON PINE ✠hENRIEVS 255

Watford find, 2 specimens; Lincoln and Son.

✠GODPINE ON PIN : ✠h 255

Watford find, 2 specimens; Royal Mint collection.

✠h . PIG : ON : PINE : ✠hENRIE : 255

Watford find. This moneyer continued to coin for Stephen as hIPING, KIPING and LhEPIG, see before.

✠LEFPINE : ON PINLES 265

Spink and Son.

✠LEFPINE ON PINLE : ✠hENRIEVS 262

Watford find.

✠LEFPINE ON : PIN :: ✠hENRIEVS : 262

Watford find. As to the ornament of pellets, see page 91, and a coin of ENGELRAM.

✠SAIET ON PINLEST ✠hEN . . REX 252

University Library, Cambridge. As to this moneyer, see before.

✠SAIET ON P . . E . ✠hENRI RE 252

Sir John Evans. 22 grs. The coin mentioned
on page 55.

✠SAET . . . INEE ✠hEN 252

F. E. Whelan.

✠SA . . . ON PINLE : ✠hENRI REX 252

Capt. R. J. H. Douglas. Pl. IV., No. 3.

✠SAIET ON PINLESTR ✠hENRI REX 266

Engraved, Withy and Ryall, II., 4 ; Snelling,
I., 16, and Ruding, Sup. I., 13. *Obverse*,
two stars in the field and the third at the end
of the legend. The legend is corrected from
✠SAIN ON PINTRSIR, and a pellet repre-
sents the third star on the obverse as en-
graved. As to this coin, see page 67.

✠SAIET : ON : PINLESTRE ✠hENRI : RE 263

J. S. Henderson. Pl. V., No. 1. From the
Webb Sale, 1894, £7 5s. and, probably, the
Wylie Sale, 1882, £11.

✠SAIED : ON . PINLES : ✠hENRIEVS : R 265

British Museum.

✠SA N PIN . ✠hENRIE . . . 262

Lincoln and Son.

✠SAIET ON PINLEST ✠hENRIEVS : 255

British Museum ; Sheriff Mackenzie.

✠SAIET ON PINDES	✠HENRIEVS :	255
Watford find, 7 specimens.		
✠...ET ON PINE		255
Battle find.		
✠SAIE IN :		255
Sir John Evans.		
[✠SA]IETTUS : ON EN .. EV.	255
J. Verity.		
[✠SIP]ARN : ON PIN	.. ENRIEVS R :	255
British Museum. Compare the next coin, but the moneyer may be WARN.		
✠SIPARD ON NRIEVS	255
Watford find. SIPARD coined here for Stephen and is mentioned as a moneyer in the Win- ton Domesday of 1148.		
[✠STIE]FNE : ON : PI..		255
Royal Mint collection. Stephen continued to coin here in the following reign.		
✠T[OVI : ON] PINDES :	. hENRIEVS :	255
F. Spicer. From the Montagu Sale, 1897.		
✠[T]OVI ON PINDES	✠hEN	255
Watford find, 2 specimens.		
✠VLFPINE ON PINE		267
Bari find. But the reading is queried by Sir John Evans in his account of the hoard.		

✠PIMVND ON PINE ✠HNRI REX N 251

P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton. As to this moneyer, see before, also under the coin reading

✠ALPOLD : ON : RINE, above.

✠ PIMVNT : ON : PIN ✠ hENRI REX 256

British Museum. Pl. III., No. 4, and Fig. F, page 56. From the Cuff, 1854, £4 4s., Murchison, 1864, £4 10s., Whitbourn, 1869, £2 7s., Brice and Montagu, 1896, £5, collections.

♣[PIM]VINT: ON PINE ... NRIE REX 267

Sir John Evans. Pl. IV., No. 4. Variety C,
page 64.

*[PIMV]NT ON ..NE 262

Watford find.

✠PIM[V]N[T ON] PINCE . hENR 255

British Museum.

✠PIM PIN . hENR 255

Watford find.

✠. ANDVS : ON : PILES : ✠ hENRIEVS 265

British Museum.

✠ : ON : PINE IEVS 262

W. C. Boyd. From the Milford Haven find.

Tyssen Sale, 1802 265

262

Tyssen, Hoare, 1850; Pershouse, 1862, Harrison, 255
1865, Brown, 1869, etc., etc., Sales.

WORCESTER.

WIHRACEASTER, WIHERCEASTER, WIGERCEASTER, WIGORNA-CEASTER, WIGORNIA, GUIGRESTENSIS; Domesday, WIRECESTER; Pipe Roll, WIREC' and WIGREC'.

"The faithful city of Worcester," as a glance at the rectangular formation of its streets will to-day remind us, was once an important station of Roman England. It probably fell into the hands of the Saxons with Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath, in 577, and in 679 its See was founded. A charter of Ethelfleda tells us that the burg was to be fortified against the Danes, and a third of the royal dues and market tolls to be devoted to the Church. In 1041 King Harthacnut ravaged and burnt the city, because two of his collectors of the Danegeld had been slain "in an upper chamber of the abbey tower, where they had concealed themselves during a tumult." (Florence.) The fire probably destroyed the early monastery, for in 1058 Bishop Aldred dedicated to St. Peter "the church which he had built from its foundations in the city of Worcester."

1086. Domesday notes.—"In the city of Worcester King Edward had this custom. When the money was changed [*i.e.* a new type issued] each moneyer gave twenty shillings to London for receiving the [new] money dies." The King had £10 from the city and Earl Edwin £8. The King received no other custom save the usual house-tax.

Now the King has in lordship both the King's share and that of the Earl, which return to the Sheriff £28 5s. by weight. From the city and the King's manors £123 4s. is paid. "In the time of King Edward the Bishop had the *tertius denarius* from the burg of Worcester, and now he has it [jointly] with the King and Earl. Then it was £6. Now it is £8."

1108. Death of Urso d'Abetot, castellan of Worcester. (Geof. de Mand.)

1112. May 9th. Death of Samson, Bishop of Worcester, 1096-1112.
1113. June 19th. "The city of Worcester, together with the cathedral and all the other churches, and also the castle, were destroyed by fire." (Florence.)
Dec. 28th. Theowulf, the King's chaplain, appointed bishop.
1115. June 27th. Is consecrated.
1123. Oct. 20th. His death.
1125. Simon, the Queen's chancellor, appointed bishop in Normandy.
May 25th. Consecrated at Canterbury.
1129. Christmas. King Henry holds his Court at Worcester. (Huntingdon.) Hoveden, erroneously, gives this date as 1131.
1130. Pipe Roll notes.—From the Roll, as we have it, the returns for this county are missing, and there are therefore only incidental references to the city under other headings. One of these enters certain expenses which were probably incurred at the Christmas Court of 1129. Walter de Beauchamp [castellan of Worcester and hereditary Sheriff of the shire] is often mentioned.
1133. "In the month of November the city of Worcester was exposed to the ravages of fire, a frequent occurrence." (Florence.)

The mint of Worcester seems to have been one of the many established by Ethelred II to facilitate the collection of the Danegeld in coin, and was continued by all his successors until the reign of Henry II, or perhaps a little later.

A study of Domesday tells us that although each moneyer of Worcester in the reign of the Confessor paid 20s. to London, *i.e.* to the King's *aurifaber*, for his dies whenever a new type was issued, it was one of the customs by which the citizens held their city, and, therefore, by inference, as they were responsible for such payment, the mint must have been farmed to them. Under the current year of the Survey, 1086, however, there is no reference to the

continuance of this custom, but it will be noticed, on the other hand, that the *firma* paid to the King and Earl, which had been £18 in the Confessor's time, is now raised to £23 5s. by weight. Of this increase of £5 5s., the King's proportionate share would be £2 18s. 4d. by weight, or, say, £3 by number, and from that again had to be deducted the third penny of the Bishop, which would leave a net increase of £2 a year to the King—as such, although, the earldom being then extinct, he actually received not only his own share, but also that of the Earl. Now, turning to the coins of William I, we find that there were four moneyers at Worcester at the date of Domesday, and, as it was then customary to “change the money” every two years, this annual increase of £2 exactly corresponds with the surrender value of the 20s. from each of the four moneyers when a new type was issued.

This may be a mere coincidence, and it is not proffered at much more than that, but the fact remains that in 1086 the moneyers' custom is no longer recorded in the Survey as being then in existence, and therefore we may assume that the mint was farmed to the citizens, as were so many royal mints, in the *firma* of their city. The writ of Henry I, presently recorded, too, corroborates this inference. The mint cannot have followed the *tertius denarius* of Worcester, for it was evidently a royal mint, although farmed to the citizens by custom, in the time of the Confessor, when the same conditions prevailed. Originally, the Earl probably received the *tertius denarius* of the city, although at the death of the Confessor it was represented by £8, instead of £6, out of the *firma*—or what was the precursor of the *firma*—of £18, and the King and he seem to have jointly created a second *tertius*

denarius, and granted it to the Bishop. Here, again, the annual value of the mint, at £2 as above, steps in, for if, instead of the usual transfer of the mint, the Earl received its annual value because it was retained by the King, we have the explanation why, in the division of the original *tertius denarius*, the Earl received exactly £2 more than his share, and the King so much the less.

Passing on to the accession of Henry I, we approach a remarkable writ concerning the coinage of Worcester-shire, which Ruding (vol. i., p. 164) assigns to the year 1118, "or possibly a little earlier." But so late a date as this is out of the question, for it is addressed to Samson, Bishop of Worcester, and Urso d'Abetot, the sheriff, of whom the former died in 1112, and the latter as early as in 1108. Ruding quotes it from an extract made by Mr. G. North from *Lib. Rub. Scacc.*, fol. 163b, but the names of the witnesses are omitted, and so the usual means of closely approximating the date are absent. But it bears internal evidence of being earlier than Christmas, 1103, for at the Council of London held on that occasion, the punishment for falsifying the money, which, up to that date, had been that described in the writ, was increased by the addition of loss of sight. Finally, if we compare its wording with that of the passage quoted on page 45 from Henry's Coronation Charter of 1100, the two documents would seem to be contemporary. Its date, therefore, may be accepted as immediately after the King's accession. The following is a slightly modernised version :—

"[Henry, King of England] to Samson, Bishop of Worcester, Urso d'Abetot, and all his barons, both Norman and English in Worcestershire, commanded that all burgesses, and all other persons dwelling in burghs, as well Norman as English, should

swear to preserve and uphold the King's money in England, and not to debase it. And if anyone should be found with false money upon him, and should not be able to clear himself from the charge of falsifying it, or to prove from whom he received the false coins, he should suffer the loss of his right hand and mutilation. Also that no moneyer should exchange money, except in his own county, and that in the presence of two credible witnesses of the same county; and if he should be taken exchanging money in any other county, he should be punished as a false moneyer. Likewise that no person, except he were a moneyer, should presume to exchange money."

So drastic a writ was not sent down from the King's Court for nothing, and as that of Worcester was the only mint in the county, it proves that the moneyers must have been not only debasing the coinage, but holding the exchange outside their jurisdiction. The latter charge suggests a possible explanation for the remarkable coincidence that after the first two types of William I, Worcester and Bristol issue exactly the same types throughout the reigns of the two Williams. No doubt Bristol was then rapidly coming to the front as a maritime trade centre, and perhaps the moneyers of Worcester found it more profitable to resort to its market than to await the slow demand for exchange in their inland city. Something of the kind, perhaps, also led to the contemporary abolition of the five moneyers in the market at Winchester (page 460).

The immediate effect of the writ would be that in, or about, 1100 Urso d'Abetot, as Sheriff, would hold an Inquisition of the moneyers at Worcester. Their names at the close of the reign of Rufus were BALDRIC, EASTMÆR, GODPINE and SEPINE, and as they cannot be identified on any of the coins of King Henry, there seems little doubt that they were convicted of the offences specified in the writ and so disappeared from office. But

the verdict of the Inquisition would, it is submitted, be more serious even than this, for it is evident that the affairs of the mint had come to such a pass that in its particular case the King had resorted to a remedy, as evidenced by his writ, for which we have to look to the great Inquisition of the moneyers of the whole of the country, in 1125, to find a parallel. Therefore the coincidence of the absence, to-day, of any coins bearing the name of Worcester of those types which represent the first twenty years of Henry's reign, points to the probability that the mint itself was disfranchised for that period; or, to adapt the wording of the record in the Winton Domesday of the similar and contemporary incident at Winchester, that "in the market there had been four moneyers, who were abolished by order of the King."

The death of Prince William, the King's only son, in the shipwreck of 1120, as Mr. Round remarks, brought Robert fitz-Regis, as the favourite and eldest of the King's natural issue, within the possibilities of the succession, for the *bar sinister* was no estoppel under the Norman Constitutional law. This led to momentous results in the Western Counties, for at Easter, 1121, Henry held his court at Berkeley, and, as deduced on page 125, created Robert Earl of Gloucester, and, as such, Lord Paramount of the West. At this court the citizens of Worcester probably petitioned for and obtained the restoration of their ancient privilege, although it appears to have been now limited to one moneyer only at a time, for the mint is reopened and type IV (1121-1123) appears. This is followed by types 265 (1126-1128) and 262 (1128-1131), but the last type of the reign, 255, is as yet missing, and as the Pipe Roll returns for Worcester are wanting, no explanation of its absence is forthcoming.

COINS.

✠GODRIE : O . PIREES ✠h . . RIEVS R : 265

British Museum. From the Durrant, 1847, £2 10s., and, probably, the Tyssen, 1802, Sales. This moneyer coined here in the following reign.

✠PVLFRIE : ON PIRE ✠hENRIEVS REX : IV

British Museum. Pl. V., No. 7. From the Cuff Sale, 1854, and sketched by him in his, now Mr. Webster's, copy of Ruding.

[✠PV]LFRI[E : O]N : PIREE . hENR EX 262

The Victoria Institute, Worcester. Lent by the Committee of the Corporation. The moneyer Wulfrie continued to coin in the following reign ; but it is not quite certain that the letters on this coin do not represent PALTER.

YORK.

EOFERWIC, EVERWIC, EBORACIA-CIVITAS, EWREHIC ; Domesday, EBORACUM ; Pipe Roll, EVERWIC.

The city of York discloses vestiges of architecture of every age in the history of Britain. The Romans found it, even then, an ancient city, and chose it as their stronghold in the North, where Hadrian flourished, and Severus and Constantius Chlorus died. Upon the exodus of the legions, York was occupied by the Picts and Scots until wrested from them by the Saxon invaders. In the seventh century was laid the foundation of the Church of St. Peter, and with it that of the great archbishopric. The

city at an early date fell into the hands of the Danes and became the seat of government of the Kings of Northumbria of that race; but under their rule it prospered, and at the close of the Saxon era it was the flourishing and populous metropolis of the North. In the troubles following the Conquest York suffered more severely than any city in England, for it was devastated by fire and sword until it was left an almost depopulated waste of ashes.

1086. Domesday notes.—In the city of York in the time of King Edward, in addition to the ward of the Archbishop there were six wards; one of these was absorbed in the castle. In the remaining five there were 1,418 inhabited houses. From one of these wards the Archbishop had the third part, and all the customs from his own ward. The city was then assessed to the King at £53 by weight.

Of the above-mentioned houses there are now in the King's hand, returning custom, 391 of all sorts and 400 uninhabited, some returning more and others less than one penny, 540 are waste, returning nothing, and 145 are tenanted by Normans. The holdings of various feudatories are given, including "Nigel de Monneville has one house of a certain moneyer," and the city fosse is mentioned. The city is [? nominally] assessed to the King at £100 by weight.

In the Archbishop's ward there were in King Edward's time 189 houses, now there are 100, great and small, in addition to the Archbishop's court and the "houses of the canons." In his ward the Archbishop has as much as the King has in his wards.

1100. November 18th. Thomas, Archbishop of York, dies. (Florence.)

He is succeeded by Gerard, Bishop of Hereford.

1108. Archbishop Gerard dies "before Pentecost."

Thomas, provost of Beverley, is appointed Archbishop. (S. of Durham.)

1109. June 27th. Is consecrated at London. (S. of Durham.)

1114. February 24th. His death. (S. of Durham.)

August 15th. Thurstan, the King's Chaplain, is appointed Archbishop. (S. of Durham.)

1115. The dispute arises, on the question of Thurstan's consecration, as to the supremacy of the See of Canterbury.
1116. Thurstan refuses to accept consecration if coupled with subjection to the Archbishop of Canterbury and accompanies Henry to Normandy. (S. of Durham.)
1117. Thence he visits the Pope and returns to York. (Annals of Winchester.)
1119. October 20th. He attends the Council at Rheims and is consecrated by the Pope. (S. of Durham.)
King Henry prohibits his return to England. (S. of Durham.)
- 1122-23. Under pressure from the Pope Henry reluctantly revokes his banishment.
1122. December 6th. The King, "who was then taking a survey of Northumbria," visits York. (Orderic.)
1123. Thurstan visits Rome and, returning, remains with the King in Normandy. (Florence.)
1125. Again visits Rome. (Huntingdon.)
1126. Christmas. Thurstan, as the elder Archbishop, attempts to take precedence of the Archbishop of Canterbury at the Windsor Court, but is rebuffed. (Westminster.)
1130. Pipe Roll notes. — The burgesses account for £24 13s. 4d. on a plea of Geoffrey de Clinton; and Turgis the Collector for £40 for the current year and for £5 6s. 8d. for arrears of the previous year as *auxilium* of the city. Thurstan the Archbishop accounts for £10 which the King guaranteed for him in Normandy, but it is remitted to him; for 10 marks for his lordship and for 25 marks for his vassals, which, with the exception of 10 marks of the latter item, are also remitted to him. Serlo de Burg owes £26 7s. 8d. as arrears "from the returns of the Archbishopric of York, whilst it was in his hand." "Thomas fitz Ulviet of York owes one *fugat*," that he might be an Alderman in the Guild of Merchants at York.

The identification by Mr. G. F. Hill, in *N. C.* 1897, 293, of a coin of Cartimandua, Queen of the Brigantes, A.D. 51-71, raises the probability that there was an early British coinage at York prior to its occupation by the Romans. Whether the latter people coined here is un-

certain, but there is ground for an affirmative supposition, and we have every reason to believe that some of our earliest Anglo-Saxon *sceattæ* were issued from the York mint. But the coins of Archbishop Ecgberht, 730-766, and of his successors not only dispel any further doubts as to appropriations, but prove that already the regal privilege of coinage was shared by the ecclesiastical authority at York. The silver *sceatta* of Northumbria was gradually degraded into the copper *styca*, coined at York in the ninth century, and that was superseded by the Danish silver penny and halfpenny in the reign of Alfred, which half-a-century later gave place to the uniform Anglo-Saxon coinage. Meanwhile the Archbishops had ceased to issue a distinct coinage, bearing their own names and title, but, as at Canterbury, they still held their own moneys in the royal mint.

Such were the general conditions of the mint at York at the time "when King William came into England." But then a sequence of terrible calamities befell the city. Not content with having held out until but Chester remained a Saxon stronghold, the stubborn citizens rose again against the Norman yoke and were again subdued, this time by fire and sword; and yet a third time the remaining inhabitants fought for their freedom, and, joining the Northern revolt, slaughtered the King's garrison. William swore vengeance upon them, and ruthlessly devastated the whole of the country between the Humber and the Tees.

Then it was that the city would be disfranchised of all its privileges, and from the time when the King wreaked his final vengeance upon it the royal mint was withdrawn and so no return is forthcoming from it in the Domesday Survey. But powerful as King William was, he was not

powerful enough to curtail a privilege of the Archbishops of York, and so even under the miserable conditions to which the city was reduced at the date of the Survey we find the incidental reference in it to "a certain moneyer."

That he was one of the three moneyers of the Archbishops of York seems to be clear from a writ of *quo warranto* in the eighth year of Edward I, which admits that prior to the reign of Henry I, the Archbishops used three dies at York. Therefore, as, subsequent to the date of the final calamity, the York coinage, as we have it, will (after allowing for occasional changes during the currency of the types) only admit of three moneyers at any time during the reign of the two Williams, and, as shown by the writ, these three belonged to the Archbishop, it follows, as was to be expected, that King William withdrew the privilege of a royal mint from York.

But the writ implies that in the time of Henry I the number of the Archbishop's moneyers had been reduced to two. Judging from our coins this seems to have occurred during the reign of William II, and was probably owing to the fact that two moneyers were found to be ample to supply the wants of a city which, in the King's demesne alone, had been reduced from 1,418 to 536 inhabited houses.

Upon King Henry's accession, in the year 1100, the privilege of coinage at York was therefore solely in the Archbishop by custom, and was limited to that of two moneyers. Thomas of Bayeux was the then Primate, but as he died within four months of that event, it is highly improbable that he ever received his dies for the new coinage. The actual date of the translation of his successor Gerard, Bishop of Hereford, to the Archiepiscopacy seems to be omitted by the chroniclers, but it was

certainly prior to September, 1101, when he witnessed the charters to Bath and Norwich, and was probably Christmas, 1100, when the King kept his Court at Westminster. Gerard held the Primacy from late in 1100, or early in 1101, to the spring of 1108, and for that period we have a complete series of types amongst our coins of York—namely, 251 (1100-1102), 254 (1102-1104), 253 (1104-1106), and 252 (1106-1108).

These types do not disclose the names of more than two moneyers at a time, and therefore the following extract from the writ of *quo warranto* proves that they must have been issued under the authority of the Archbishop, for if there were only two moneyers then coining at York, and Archbishop Gerard sustained his plea concerning his *moneyers*, there is no room in the evidence of our coins for a royal moneyer.

“Odo, Sheriff of Yorkshire, did hinder Gerard the Archbishop, from holding pleas and giving judgment in his Court *de Monetariis*. The Archbishop complained to the King, and showed his seisin and the right of the Church of St. Peter; whereupon the King sent his letters patent to the sheriff, the effect of which was to will and command him, that Gerard, Archbishop, should in the lands of his Archbishopric, have pleas in his Court of his moneyers, of thieves, and of all others, as Thomas, Archbishop, had in the time of the King's father and brother. And that he should execute the King's new statutes of judgments or pleas of thieves and false coiners, and that he might do this at his own proper instance, in his own court; and that neither he nor the Church should lose anything by the new statutes, but that he might do in his own Courts, by his own instance, according to the statutes.” Ruding, II., p. 234.

A “Court *de monetariis*” came as a surprise in these our closing pages, and at least warranted an enquiry. This resulted in the discovery that a transcript of King Henry's original writ is extant and given in the pages of the

Monasticon. From it we find that the name of the sheriff was Osbert, not Odo, and that the *de monetariis* referred to the pleas and not to the Court, which latter was, of course, the ordinary ecclesiastical Court of the Primacy. Its attestation clause proves the date to have been 1101, 2, 3, or 4.

Henricus Dei Gratiâ, Rex Anglorum, Osberto vice-comiti, et R. filio Geronis salutem.—Volo et præcipio, ut Gerardus Eborum Archiepiscopus, in terris ecclesiarum suarum, et in omnibus terris Eborum Archiepiscopatus placita sua in curiâ sibi habeat; et de monetariis suis, et de latronibus, et de omnibus aliis; et omnes leges et consuetudines suas, et ecclesiarum suarum, habeat sicut Thomas Archiepiscopus melius habuit tempore patris vel fratris mei, et nova statuta mea de judiciis, sive de placitis latronum et falsorum monetariorum exequantur, et formant per suam propriam justiciam in curiâ suâ; nec ipse aliquod perdat vel ecclesiæ suæ pro novis statutis meis, si ea, ut dixi, in curiâ suâ faciant per suam propriam justiciam statuta mea. Teste—R. Cestriensi Episcopo, apud Winton in Paschâ.

The explanation suggested by this incident is that Gerard had instituted his two moneyers at York as of right by ancient custom, and the Sheriff demurred because he had received no express confirmation charter from the King of the privilege. Henry therefore compromised the position by the direction of his "letters patent." The reference to the "new statutes" probably refers to the ordinances of his Coronation Charter of 1100, and this would further narrow the date of the plea to Easter, 1101.

Archbishop Gerard was succeeded by Thomas of Beverley, but in consequence of his refusing to admit the precedence of the See of Canterbury, his consecration was opposed by Anselm, and did not take place until June 27th, 1109, after the death of the latter. He returned to York in August (Melrose), and was present at the Nottingham

Council in the autumn of that year (charters to Ely and Norwich) and type 256 (1108-1110), if a sale catalogue is reliable, represents his coinage at York at this period. But now his name disappears from our chronicles and charters, and it is possible that he accompanied the King to Normandy and probably journeyed to Rome, for the two types which represent the remaining three-and-a-half years of his Primacy are absent. Or it may be that in the absence of renewed letters patent from the King, the Sheriff again demurred to the Archbishop's right of coinage, that the question remained in dispute until his death on February 24th, 1114, and that consequently the mint remained in abeyance. This is the more probable, as we have the evidence of several records, that in later times the question was still unsolved as to whether the prescriptive rights of coinage of the Archbishop of York required confirmation by the King's writ before they could be exercised by a newly enthroned Primate.

On the 15th of August, 1114, Henry appointed his chaplain, Thurstan, to the vacant See, but upon offering himself for consecration,

"a violent quarrel arose between Ralph, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Thurstan, Archbishop of York, because the Archbishop of York refused to consider himself subordinate to the Archbishop of Canterbury, as his predecessors had been accustomed to do, and the cause was often discussed before the King and the Pope, although it was not, as yet, finally decided." (Westminster.)

"King Henry, finding that Thurstan persisted in his resolution, openly declared that he should either follow the usages of his predecessors, both in making the profession and in other things pertaining by ancient right to the Church of Canterbury, or lose the Archbishopric of York and consecration altogether. On hearing this, he (Thurstan) was so moved by the hasty impulses of his temper that he gave up the Archbishopric." (Florence.)

During this period of controversy, therefore, the mint of York remained of necessity closed, but on April 5th, 1117, Pope Paschal II interposed with a letter of direction to the King, upon the strength of which, as William of Malmesbury tells us in his *Gesta Pontificum*, Thurstan was allowed to freely resume his See. Immediately type 264 (1116-1119) appears amongst our York coins, and no doubt represents a coinage issued by the Archbishop in evidence that he would admit no encroachment upon the ancient privileges of his See, either in the form of "letters patent" from the King, or otherwise, in confirmation of what he claimed by prescriptive right. The coin itself is a record of the character of the proud ecclesiastic, for worked into the design of the obverse die there is a profusion of annulets representing the symbol, or *Annulus piscatoris*, of St. Peter, whose representative he claimed to be. In this, as will be presently explained, the old Saxon custom is revived of emphasizing the ecclesiastical origin of the coin.

Whilst this type was still current, Thurstan obtained Henry's permission to visit Pope Calixtus II at Rheims, and in the autumn of 1119 the Pope was persuaded to consecrate him. This was directly against the King's instructions to the Archbishop, and in consequence Henry forbade his return and banished him from the country. How long the banishment continued is somewhat uncertain, but, in consequence of the energetic support of the Pope in favour of Thurstan, the King was compelled to withdraw the edict. Thurstan's name appears as a witness to the Plympton charter, which is believed by Mr. Round to have been given at the Easter Court at Winchester in 1123, and it was then perhaps that he was first granted an audience by the King, but the Pipe Roll almost

implies that he was not reinstated in the temporalities of his See until a much later date.

From the Easter Court he returned with Henry to Normandy, for in June or July, 1123, he was with him at Rouen (Florence). Thence he journeyed to Rome, but returned to Normandy in 1125, where he witnessed the charter to Reading, but he again visited Rome. These proceedings suggest that important negotiations were passing between the Pope and the King with reference to his reinstallation at York, and when we read the entry in the 1129-30 Pipe Roll that Serlo de Burg, the King's sequestrator, was even then accounting for arrears of the returns of the Archbishopric, and notice the fact that the mint at York seems to still remain dormant, we may almost assume that it was not until the year 1126 or 1127 that Thurstan was readmitted into the temporal possession of his Archiepiscopacy.

At the Christmas Court of 1126-27 we hear the last of the struggle for precedence, and in the following year the mint of York is reopened with type 262 (1128-1131). This is followed by 255 (1131-1135), which completes the series of Henry I's reign.

Nothing is more characteristic of the ecclesiastical origin of certain of our ancient money than the use of the annulet on the coins of York. Under Peterborough and Reading attention has been called to the occasional use of this symbol, but it is at York that we find a complete series of coins so countermarked to distinguish them from the otherwise similar money issued under the King's authority. From the day when the Archbishops of York, in the time of King Alfred, ceased to issue money bearing their own names and titles, the annulet appears upon a certain proportion of the coins of that

mint; for we find it as early as during the Danish occupation on the coins of St. Peter and on some of Anlaf and Eric. It is continued throughout the whole of the Saxon series, and its purpose was to assist in distinguishing the ecclesiastical from the secular coinage, but—and this is significant—when King William closed the royal mint at York, any such distinction being therefore no longer required, it coincidentally disappears from the coins until reintroduced by Archbishop Thurstan in 1117 as above explained.

It again appears in Henry's reign upon a coin of type 255 (1131-1135), which supports the theory, now advanced, that Henry I at this period revived the use of the Archbishop's third die, but placed it in the hands of a royal moneyer; thus reinstating a King's moneyer and mint at York, and therefore necessitating on the Primate's part a return to the old distinction. That this is not mere surmise is shown by the following record, also, from the writ *quo warranto*—

“The Archbishop stated further that he and his predecessors used to have a third die, which the King then had in this city; and prayed that his right therein might be saved to him; which plea was allowed.” (Drake.)

In the course of time the annulet gave place to other symbols, such as the Keys of St. Peter, the initials of the Archbishops, &c., and the Archiepiscopal mint survived until the Reformation. Its site, or, at least, its final site, was still known in modern times as The Mint Yard.

Regal coinage at York, after many intermissions, ceased in the reign of William III.

COINS.

✠BRIHT[NOÐ] ON EOF 251

Sale, April, 1874. This moneyer's name occurs on Saxon coins of this mint.

✠BRIHTNO[Ð] 251

Marsham Sale, 1888, £3.

✠BRIRNRÐ ON EFR ✠HENRI REX 253

H. M. Reynolds, 14½ grs. From the Edinburgh Sale, 1884.

✠RA ON EBO ✠hENRI REX 252

L. A. Lawrence, 20 grs. The variety **Fig. E** described on page 56; illustrated also in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1800, page 817, and (erroneously) Ruding, *Sup. II.*, 2, No. 3. From the Sharp (Coventry) and Woolston collections. EBO[RACUM] on this specimen is the first revival of the ancient name of York on any coin since the time of Athelstan.

✠TVR[STAN] ON EVE ✠hENRIEVS 255

Lincoln and Son. This moneyer continued to coin in Stephen's reign.

✠TVRSTAN [ON] EVE ✠hENRIEVS 255

S. Smith

✠VLF : ON : EVERPI ✠hENRI . . . 255

Watford find; Royal Mint collection; J. Verity. Ulf continued to coin here in the reign of King Stephen, and was, no doubt, the father of the "Thomas filius Ulf" on the Eustace

type, Hawkins, 631 ; which is fatal to the claims for the identification of the latter with Thomas fitz Ulviet, the Pipe Roll "Alderman of the Guild of Merchants at York."

✠[VLF : O]N : EVERWIE : ✠hENR . . . 255

Watford find, 2 specimens.

✠[V]LF : ON : EVERWI . . . ENRIEV 255

Lady Buckley, 21½ grs. An annulet in the centre of the reverse cross, and small annulets in place of the usual pellets for the colons of division in the reverse legend. As to this coin, see before.

. . . . RIE : ON [E]VE : ✠hENR 262

F. Spicer.

. . . . ER ON [EV]ER ✠hEN S R 262

Watford find.

. . . . ON : EVE . hENRI . . . 255

L. A. Lawrence, 20 grs., from Viscount Dillen's collection ; Carruther's Sale, 1857. The moneyer was probably Ulf.

✠. . . . ON EV 255

Watford find, ditto.

. : ON : EVER ✠h E : 264

H. M. Reynolds, 22 grs. The design of the obverse is decorated with numerous minute annulets. As to this coin, see before.

Webb Sale, 1884, £2 4s. 254

Kirby Sale, 1888 256

NOTES.

Page	2,	line	14,	Read	"more than a life interest."
"	71,	"	2,	"	"sceptre fleury, or surmounted."
"	130,	"	33,	"	"(Eynsford) pays 9s."
"	138,	"	3,	"	"Mr. F. Jenkinson."
"	168,	"	26,	"	"The burgs [of the county] pay."
"	202,	"	24,	"	"255."
"	220,	"	43,	"	"there were three moneyers."

CUT HALFPENNIES AND THE "SNICKED" COINS.

On pages 54 and 55 the proclamation of 1108 prohibiting the cut halfpennies, and the record in Malmesbury that the King ordered all the money to be "snicked" are connected as serving some common purpose, in abolishing the cut halfpenny, and purifying the coinage. Again, on page 78, it is pointed out that, so long as all the money was so snicked, the cut halfpenny does not appear, and, on page 9, that the severance of the halfpenny invariably followed the line of the reverse cross. It will be noticed from the coins, or from the illustrations upon which the incision can be traced, that it is almost invariably oblique, and that it is never in line with an arm of the reverse cross. The effect of this was, of course, that if a snicked penny was severed into two halfpennies, one of them would be so weakened by the incision, as to be useless for circulation, and so one good halfpenny only would be the result of an experiment, not likely to be repeated when coined money was always at a premium.

THE RHUDDLAN MINT OF WILLIAM I.

On page 147 the expression in Domesday, *medietatem monetæ*, is rendered "a half share in the mint," and Ruding, in vol. ii., page 240, translates it as a moiety of the mint. But it, more probably, refers to the middle penny of the three into which, for purposes of the Exchequer, similar revenue was then figuratively divided, and so would be the *tertius denarius*.

TABLE OF THE MINTS AND THEIR TYPES.¹

Order of Types—	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.	IX.	X.	XI.	XII.	XIII.	XIV.	XV.
Hawkins' Types—	251	254	253	252	256	257	267	266	264	263	IV.	258	265	262	255
Barnstaple . . .													x		
Bath . . .													x		
Bedford . . .													x	x	x
Bristol . . .		x	x										x		
Canterbury . . .	x	x	x			x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x
Carlisle . . .											x	x		x	x
Chester . . .	x									x	x			x	x
Chichester . . .							x	x	x		x			x	x
Colchester . . .			x												
Dorchester . . .													x	x	
Dover . . .	x												x	x	
Durham . . .															
Exeter . . .		x		x			x							x	x
Gloucester . . .														x	x
Hastings . . .	x	x	x	x						Obv. Rev.	x	x		x	x
Hereford . . .															
Huntington . . .		x												x	x
Ipswich . . .	x		x	x										x	x
Leicester . . .		x		x					x					x	x
Lewes . . .	x														
Lincoln . . .	x	x		x		x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x
London . . .	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Northampton . . .															
Norwich . . .	x	x	x	x		x	x				x	x	x	x	x
Nottingham . . .						x					x		x		
Oxford . . .	x												x	x	x
Peterborough (Stamford) . . .	x	x	x						x				x	x	x
Reading . . .															
(London) . . .															x
Rochester . . .	x														
St. Edmunds- bury . . .	x			x						x	x		x	x	x
Salisbury . . .	x	x	x											x	x
Sandwich . . .														x	
Southampton . . .				x							x		x		
Southwark . . .	x	x		x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x	x	
Sudbury . . .			x				x						x	x	
Tamworth . . .		x											x	x	
Thetford . . .	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x		x	x	x
Wallingford . . .	x						x		x				x		
Wareham . . .	x						x	x			x			x	
Warwick . . .			x										x		
Wilton . . .			x				x							x	
Winchester . . .	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x
Worcester . . .											x		x	x	
York . . .	x	x	x	x	x				x				x	x	x
Unappropriated							x				Rev. Obv.			x	x

¹ As anticipated on p. 41, the lists of mints under the various types, pp. 42—96, have been subjected to some addition and alteration.

INDEX TO THE MONEYPERS OF HENRY I.

In most of the instances one form only of the name is given, as the numerous variations will be found under the references.

It by no means follows that all the types opposite to the names were issued by the same moneyer, as no distinction is here drawn between two persons of the same name and mint. For instance, there was certainly two moneyers at Winchester, during this reign, named WIMVND.

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ALVS . . .	Thetford . .	252	426
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ÆLSTAN . .	Rochester . .	251	382-84
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END OF VOL. I.



TYPE I
(HAWKINS 251)



TYPE II
(HAWKINS 254)



TYPE IV
(HAWKINS 252)



TYPE IV
(HAWKINS 252)



TYPE VI
(HAWKINS 257)



TYPE VII
(HAWKINS 267)



TYPE VII
(HAWKINS 267)



TYPE VIII
(HAWKINS 266)



TYPE XI
(HAWKINS IV)



TYPE XII
(HAWKINS 258)



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